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PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

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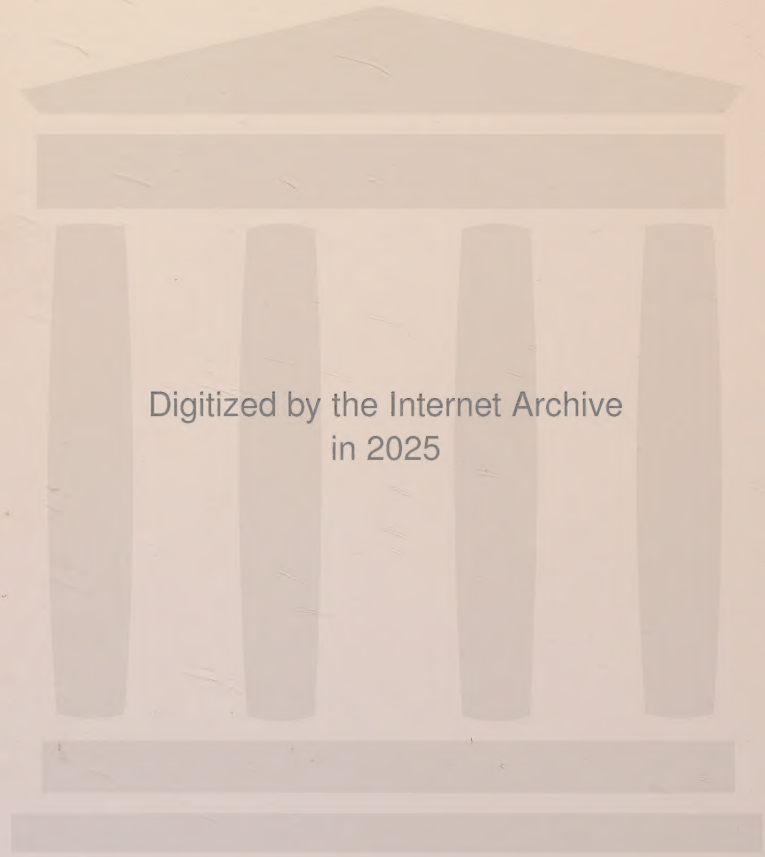
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PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

THEIR PURPOSE, STRUCTURE AND METHODS

BY

SHELBY M. HARRISON

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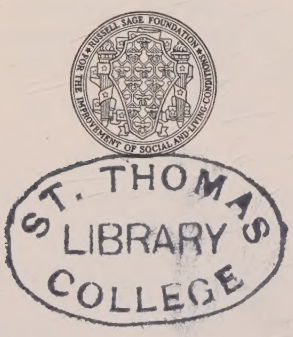

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PREFACE

THIS study was taken up in response to a need expressed by practical workers in public employment offices and in industry. The burden of what they had to say was that public employment office work had grown rapidly in recent years, that new and important questions of policy had arisen, and that many of these required more time to be thought through and worked out than persons in the midst of the exacting daily duties of the service could devote to them. It should be made somebody's business, so they thought, to do nothing else for a while but inquire into these questions.

It was further pointed out that an easily accessible record of the most suggestive and successful methods in use in public employment offices was much needed—a record which would go into considerable detail, for in this field details are most important. Several employment office superintendents, for example, said that requests had come to them repeatedly from people engaged in employment work in various places for the names of publications which would aid beginners and others to understand their jobs better and to improve their performance. There is little material available that meets these requirements.

These expressions of need were brought to the Russell Sage Foundation in the form of a request that it make a thorough investigation of the experience and methods of conducting public employment bureaus.

The Foundation has preferred not to undertake pieces of work the responsibility for which seemed clearly to rest on other organizations, particularly when there was hope that these organizations would act. There were other agencies, governmental and private, which might appropriately have undertaken this inquiry; but in most cases, because of lack of funds or of the necessity for curtailing budgets, they could offer no hope. Nor did the project seem to have a sufficiently dramatic or popular appeal to make it possible to raise funds by subscription for the purpose.

The probable usefulness of such a study and the improbability of its being undertaken elsewhere being reasonably clear, the trustees of the Foundation made a special appropriation to carry it on. The project was started at a time when Mary Van Kleeck, Director of the Foundation's Department of Industrial Studies, in whose field this inquiry would most naturally fall, was absent in response to the government's call for war service. It therefore became a responsibility of the Director of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits, as he was acting in Miss Van Kleeck's stead.

The general purpose for which the appropriation was granted was to examine the experience of the United States, and of other countries as far as practicable, in planning, organizing, and administering public employment work in its local, state, and national aspects. The investigation was to include also an examination of the factors entering into the successful application to industrial life of the employment bureau idea and into its practical development in the community.

This purpose, necessarily somewhat indefinite at the beginning, was kept broad and flexible for a time in order to allow leeway as the work progressed to stress such points as might seem to demand special emphasis. When it became possible to outline the scope of the study more specifically, it was seen to divide itself into four main parts. One part or division, as is indicated more fully in the Introduction, covers questions as to how, or through what agencies, employment work was being done throughout the country, and what an inspection of these agencies would reveal regarding the kind of service the public system should render and the place it should occupy in employment work; the second part covers questions concerning the general organization and administration of a nation-wide service; the third covers questions relating to the organization and operation of the local employment office; and the fourth, methods of dealing with groups of workers that require special kinds of service.

The appropriation was granted early in 1919 and the staff was got together by June of that year. It consisted of Mary La Dame, Bradley Buell, Leslie E. Woodcock, and Frederick A. King, who took part in the study through practically the whole period.

In addition, Helen B. Russell assisted in the field work; and a few others were engaged for short periods to do special tasks. We were fortunate in having a variety of points of view and of practical experience represented in this group. Nearly all of its members had been employed at one time or another in public or non-commercial employment work; and their experience had been gathered in several sections of the country.

As plans were developed it was deemed essential that personal visits be made to as many employment offices as time and funds would permit. After a short period allowed for a preliminary examination of the literature dealing with the subject, the field work was begun. It took the staff into 31 states and Canada; it included special observation of public employment work in Ohio, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New York. The states visited were representative of all parts of the country—the Pacific Coast, the Northwest, the Gulf States, the Middle West, Atlantic Seaboard, and New England. About 70 cities in these states and Canada were visited, including Washington, D. C.

The field work consisted, as already suggested, of observation of the employment bureaus in operation; consideration and comparison of similar and differing methods employed from place to place; the collection of printed forms and of other material that had not been found or might be difficult to obtain by correspondence; and the interviewing of large numbers of people of widely divergent points of view who had come in contact with employment office work or had had reason to give it thought. These last included superintendents and employes of public employment offices; officials in commercial, semi-commercial, and philanthropic bureaus; employers of labor from heads of firms to shop superintendents; workers, organized and unorganized; officers in employers' associations and officers in labor unions; workers in social and civic organizations; visitors to the United States who had an intimate knowledge of employment exchanges and industrial processes in their own countries; and many others. Memoranda on the details of various phases of employment office work were also prepared for us by a number of persons who were at the time or shortly before had been in the federal Employment Service.

The field work, which continued through the early months of 1920, brought in a great mass of material; and a final combing of the country through questionnaires and correspondence brought in still more. During the intervening period much time has been required in the digesting of this material and the drafting of a report. While each member of the staff was given a definite part of the study to cover, there were frequent and extended conferences as the work progressed. The first draft of the report, after vigorous criticism within our own group, was submitted for criticism to a large number of other persons representing varied points of view and experience in employment office work; and all suggestions were given careful consideration before the final copy was prepared. The findings, therefore, represent not only the judgment of the investigating group, but to a certain extent the judgment of a larger body of co-operating critics. During the period when the report was being completed, moreover, the investigators kept in touch with developments throughout the country; and it has been possible for the most part to make the present volume cover the situation in its essential features up to the time of publication.

A number of advisers who had special knowledge of this field were consulted from time to time as to the planning and carrying forward of the study. They included W. M. Leiserson, one of the early students of unemployment in this country and one of the first advocates of public employment offices, as well as a pioneer worker in them; Charles B. Barnes and Louise C. Odencrantz, also students of employment questions and of the public bureaus and practical workers in the bureaus; Bryce M. Stewart, director for a number of years of the Employment Service of Canada; and Mary Van Kleeck. We wish gratefully to acknowledge our indebtedness to this group for their generous assistance and co-operation. In addition, Mr. Leiserson placed a number of unpublished manuscripts and other valuable documents at our disposal; and Mr. Stewart, besides lending many of the facilities of his office, gave us access to data relating to the experience of the Canadian Service, and gave generously of his time in interpreting both the data and the details of that experience.

It is not possible to mention by name the large number of

other persons in the United States and Canada who have aided enthusiastically with useful suggestions and criticisms, and have taken time to supply invaluable information. Their assistance was so unstinted and generous as to mark the study as a co-operative undertaking in a real sense. To all of these we wish to express our hearty appreciation. It may be some satisfaction to them and perhaps some measure of reward to know that a portion of the material which they supplied has already been put to practical use.

In response to requests for advance data, parts of the report, for example, were placed at the disposal of the Conference on Unemployment called by the President of the United States in Washington in September, 1921. A chapter on Public Employment Offices and Unemployment was also written by the undersigned for a report prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research for the Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment, of which Owen D. Young was chairman. The committee was appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, following the Conference on Unemployment, and was charged with making a study of the fundamental facts concerning unemployment and of possible methods of controlling the business cycle. This chapter drew largely upon Part One of the present volume. A memorandum of recommendations for the establishment of a nation-wide public employment service was also prepared for the same committee.

At the instance of Gifford Pinchot, then Governor-elect of Pennsylvania, a special report on the public employment offices of Pennsylvania was presented at a conference called by him at his home in Milford in December, 1922. The report included detailed recommendations for improving the public employment service of the State. In addition, various chapters of the present volume have been placed in the hands of students of subjects in related fields, and of individuals and committees responsible for the organization and operation or the reorganization of work in certain types of employment offices.

SHELBY M. HARRISON

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM STATED

Indications of Growing Interest in Public Employment Offices

DURING the six years between 1910 and 1916 seven important studies were made in the United States into the causes of unemployment, and in the reports of these studies programs of preventive and remedial action were outlined.[1] Each report recommended as an immediate step the establishment of public employment offices. The New York State Employers' Liability Commission, known from the name of its chairman as the Wainwright Commission, whose recommendation is fairly typical of all, after an exhaustive inquiry here and abroad, urged as one of the first steps to overcome unemployment the establishment of "a system of public employment offices . . . covering all sections of the State." It gave as its reason that "much of that unemployment which is due to maladjustment—to the failure of demand and supply to find each other—can be eliminated by such a system."[2] Indeed, even before 1910, when the first of these commissions was appointed, a certain amount of sentiment favoring organized public assistance to facilitate the exchange of labor had developed, as is evidenced by the fact that several of our state systems of public employment exchanges had their beginning prior to that date.

In 1918, when employers were greatly in need of workers, due to the shortage of labor drawn off by the war, the United States Em-

[1] These studies were made by the following organizations: The Wainwright Commission, New York, 1911; Chicago Commission on Unemployment, 1914; American Association for Labor Legislation, 1915; Massachusetts Commission on Unemployment, 1915; Philadelphia Conference on Unemployment, 1915; United States Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915; and the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York, 1914–16. In addition, commissions of lesser importance in California and Oregon also recommended the establishment of public employment offices in their programs against unemployment.

[2] New York State Employers' Liability Commission Reports, 1910–11. No. 3, Unemployment and Lack of Farm Labor, Albany, 1911, p. 13.

ployment Service was established. The aim was thus primarily to help industries crippled by loss of man power rather than, as had been the case in most previous public employment office work, to help workers to secure jobs. During the first year or more following the armistice, the President and other members of the administration in power urged Congress to continue this service as a needed assistance while demobilization was in progress. Although the service was, nevertheless, reduced practically to extinction in the autumn of 1919, the need of some national system of employment service continued to be voiced in responsible quarters and a number of the states appropriated more money for their own public employment work than they had ever supplied before, conservative estimates placing the total for 1919 at upwards of $785,250; and in 1920 at more than $1,000,000.[1]

Among other representative groups expressing themselves on the subject was the President's Second Industrial Conference called by President Wilson in 1920, which reported that "the problem of unemployment is aggravated by the fact that at the present time there is no adequate method for mobilizing such a so-called labor reserve as, in spite of all efforts to reduce unemployment, may at any given time actually exist." It therefore recommended "a national system of employment exchanges, municipal, state and federal, which shall in effect create a national employment service." Then later, the President's Conference on Unemployment, called by President Harding in September, 1921, also went on record as favoring the establishment and co-ordination of "an adequate permanent system of public employment offices."[2] And the New

[1] See Table 6 in Appendix of the present volume, showing number of public offices in operation, number of states and cities in which they were located, and amounts appropriated for public employment bureaus over a period of years.

See also Waste in Industry, Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry, Federated American Engineering Societies, Washington, D. C., first edition, 1921, pp. 279–280.

[2] The full text of the resolution adopted by the President's Conference on Unemployment is as follows:

"1. A permanent system of employment offices for bringing workers and jobs together with the quickest despatch is necessary, both in time of depression and prosperity.

"2. Your committee finds that there are now 25 States which have established State employment systems, and public employment offices are now being operated in about 200 cities, of which about 17 are purely municipal enterprises. Most of the 200 offices are supported jointly by the State and municipality. Your com-

York Reconstruction Commission, appointed by Governor Smith, in its report on A Permanent Unemployment Program in 1919 recommended the continued development of "the State Employment Service looking toward an ultimate state monopoly in this field, excepting possibly a small number of union agencies and private agencies supplying service of a personal and professional character."

Beginning with the Murdock Bill in 1914 and extending to the recent Kenyon-Nolan Bill,[1] moreover, there has been continuous and strongly backed agitation in Congress for legislative provision for some kind of national employment service.

These are only a few of the many significant and impressive indications of the growing popular interest in public employment work in this country. Whereas twenty years ago the question attracted relatively little attention, in the years that have intervened it has not only been the subject of more and more frequent

mittee feels that in any permanent system the State should be the operating unit of such employment offices, and that the extension of such offices should be encouraged. The Federal Government itself should not operate local offices or do placement work.

"3. However, for the purpose of bringing about co-ordination, the Federal Government should

(a) Collect, compile, and make available statistical information.
(b) Collect and make available information which will facilitate interstate placements.
(c) Through educational measures improve standards of work and encourage the adoption of uniform systems.

"4. The existing provision of the Federal Government and many State governments for all branches of such work is inadequate, and should be strengthened. The work is of first-rate importance, and should be recognized as a job for men of first-grade ability from the top down. The director should be appointed directly by the President. Adequate salaries should be provided and adequate safeguards to secure the proper personnel and to protect the tenure of office.

"5. An adequate permanent system of employment offices as above suggested would obviate the necessity of creating new offices whenever new emergencies arise. It would also prevent the public employment office from being regarded as a mere temporary philanthropic device, and thus through misunderstanding from not being used generally.

"6. In order to secure and maintain the confidence of both employers and workers in the impartiality of the service rendered and the statistics published, an advisory committee consisting of representatives of employers and workers should be appointed to co-operate with the director as well as a similar system of local advisory committees to co-operate with the State and municipal offices."—Report of the President's Conference on Unemployment, September 26 to October 13, 1921. Outline of Permanent Employment System, p. 77, adopted by the Conference October 11, 1921.

[1] See pages 164–176 for description and discussion of the provisions of the Kenyon-Nolan Bill.

study, public discussion, and recommendation, but as already suggested, such a service has also received substantial backing from municipal, state, and federal governments through the appropriation of funds for its development and operation. Indeed, one does not need to probe very deeply into the history of the public employment exchange movement in this country or to examine very far into its present status to discover that the question has gone much beyond the mere exciting of public interest.

As a part of this study attention was given to resolutions adopted by various civic, social, and industrial organizations throughout the United States and to other expressions of the attitude of these bodies toward public employment bureaus which were formally placed upon their records following the armistice, when the question became a very live issue. There was, to be sure, a certain amount of organized opposition to the federal Employment Service, but much the greater part of this was opposition to the service as set up and administered during the war rather than to a national system of public employment bureaus or to public employment bureaus as such. On the other hand much vigorous and widespread approval and support was found. Indeed, except for the type of opposition referred to, a high percentage of the various civic and industrial organizations consulted went on record as favoring the continuation and development of some kind of nation-wide public employment system.

What, then, are the reasons for this growing sentiment? What are the needs which it is felt such a system can meet? The answer is not far to seek. Out of these years of investigation, public conference and discussion, and debate over legislation on unemployment and related industrial questions, the public has more and more grasped two ideas. The first is that the commercial or fee-charging employment bureaus or agencies, at least those dealing with unskilled and casual labor, are capable of grave abuses; and the second, that public employment bureaus or exchanges can make a material contribution toward the solution of the serious and ever-recurring problem of unemployment.

Abuses by Fee-Charging Employment Agencies

Abuses by fee-charging employment agencies which have been brought out in numerous investigations in recent years are fairly

well known. Some of the more common of the fraudulent methods alleged to have been practiced by certain of these agencies have been summarized in a government report as follows:

"1. Charging a fee and failing to make any effort to find work for the applicant.
"2. Sending an applicant where no work exists.
"3. Sending applicants to distant points where no work or where unsatisfactory work exists but whence the applicant will not return on account of the expense involved.
"4. Collusion between the agent and employer whereby the applicant is given a few days' work and then discharged to make way for new workmen, the agent and employer dividing the fee.
"5. Charging exorbitant fees or giving jobs to such applicants as contribute extra fees, presents, etc.
"6. Inducing workers, particularly girls, who have been placed to leave—pay another fee—and get a 'better job.'
"Other evils charged against employment agents are the congregating of persons for gambling or other evil practices, collusion with keepers of immoral houses, and the sending of women applicants to houses of prostitution; sometimes employment offices are maintained in saloons with the resulting evils."[1]

One conclusion drawn from such findings has been that we must have public bureaus to take the place of the private fee-charging agencies. That is, in so far as people are informed on the question and have expressed their sentiments, most of them appeared convinced that we should have public employment bureaus because of the abuses of some fee-charging agencies quite regardless of other considerations. In addition, however, the feeling has been growing that this service in the nature of the case should be free, and that the very fact of fee-charging carries with it a dangerous temptation to abuse and fraud.

It is obvious, of course, that if the public exchanges could by legislation or court action secure exclusive sway in the whole field, the fee-charging agencies with the abuses attributed to them would be bound to disappear. And such a plan, aimed to abolish these agencies, particularly those dealing with unskilled, semi-skilled,

[1] Sargent, Frank B.: Statistics of Unemployment and the Work of Employment Offices, p. 36. United States Bureau of Labor Bulletin, No. 109, October 15, 1912, Washington, 1913.

casual, and other non-professional workers, is what some advocates of the public exchanges would adopt. There is, however, serious question whether action of that kind, if it were possible, would be wise. The mere abolition of a thing does not always help the situation. That is only negative. It is more important to build up a good constructive, competing organization. The abolition alone of the private fee-charging agencies would not necessarily bring about a system of public employment bureaus nor an efficient system. With all their abuses the private agencies are performing a function needed in the absence of an adequate public system; they should not be abolished until something is provided to take their place.

It would seem far more practical to set to work on a positive program of improving the public bureaus, for if we get a good public service, the fee-charging agencies and their abuses will then become a minor question. The private agency will be eliminated because it will be useless; or we shall learn how to improve it through experience gained in the public bureaus. Experience in England, Canada, and in a number of our American cities is showing the public bureaus when well run to be formidable competitors of the fee-charging agencies and able to reduce their number, or, in cases where this result has not followed, at least to force many of them to reform their practices.

Unemployment, Continuous, with Periodic Aggravation

Although we have no exact statistics as to the amount of unemployment that has prevailed at any particular time in this country, there is plenty of evidence that the amount has reached great proportions at certain periods, various estimates for the years of depression since 1900 ranging from 1,000,000 to over 6,000,000 people idle for weeks and sometimes for months at a time. The fact that unemployment is a continuous as well as a periodic phenomenon has also been more fully recognized of late years—continuous even in periods of prosperity and not confined to the times of business slump. An unemployment percentage of 5.6 in October, 1905, for example, is the lowest shown in the reports on unemployment in labor organizations of the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics between 1904 and 1915, while the average unemployment for

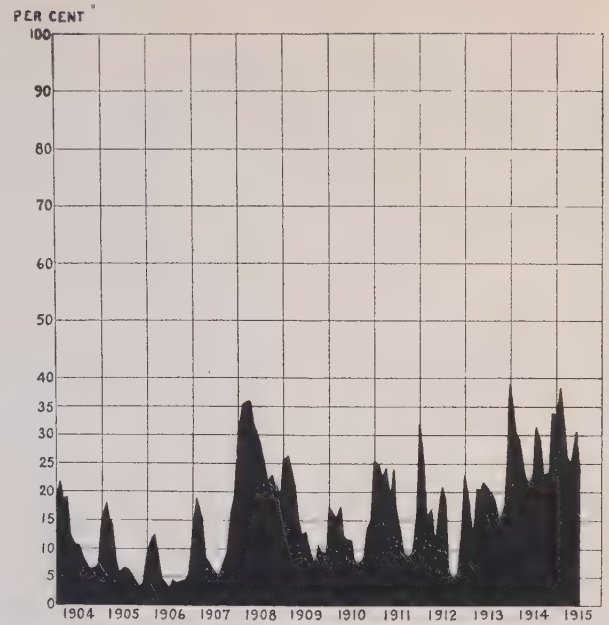


DIAGRAM 1. UNEMPLOYMENT IN LABOR UNIONS IN NEW YORK STATE, 1904–1915, AS REPORTED BY THE NEW YORK DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The solid area shows the percentage of the total membership of representative unions who were out of work on account of lack of work. These figures are no longer compiled for New York.

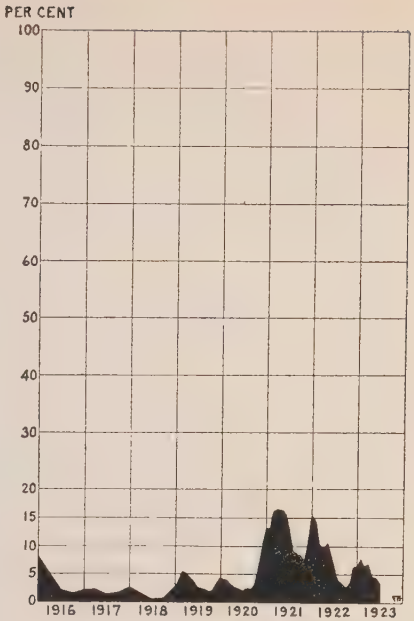


DIAGRAM 2. UNEMPLOYMENT IN LABOR UNIONS IN CANADA, 1916–1923, AS REPORTED BY THE CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

Percentage of membership unemployed through lack of work.

even that year was over 10 per cent. In 1901, a comparatively normal year, the United States Bureau of Labor in an investigation extending into 33 states and the District of Columbia, found that nearly half of the heads of the families visited had been idle for some portion of the year and that the general average was 9.43 weeks, or about 18 per cent of the year.[1] In some trades severe seasonal unemployment is an expected thing even in the best of times, as in the retail millinery trade, where the proportion working in the dullest week is only 35 per cent of the average yearly force; or in the building trades, where weather conditions play such an important part in determining when men can work.

A conservative estimate as to the amount of this continuous unemployment, taking it year in and year out over a long period of time and excluding extraordinary disturbances like war and depressions caused by war, puts the amount at from 5 per cent in good years to upwards of 20 per cent in bad years.[2] To conclude that,

[1] United States Commissioner of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor 18th Annual Report, Washington, 1903, p. 43.

[2] Five per cent is the figure given for England by B. Seebohm Rowntree in public addresses and articles in 1921. A figure roughly approximating that of Mr. Rowntree is given by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in the following: "To put it concretely, whenever the percentage of the unemployed in a particular industry begins to rise from the 3 or 5 per cent characteristic of 'good trade,' to the 10, 15, or even 25 per cent experienced in 'bad trade,' there must be a pause in the operatives' advance movement."—Industrial Democracy, edition of 1920, p. 739. London, Longmans, Green and Company.

An indication of larger proportions for America is found in the Final Report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915, p. 162, as follows: "The statistics of highly organized trades show that even in times of greatest industrial activity there is a considerable percentage, ranging from 7 to 15 per cent of all of the members of unions in different trades and industries, of workers who are unemployed during the year."

The National Industrial Conference Board in 1921 found that "the average number of days lost per year by each industrial wage-earner appears to be about 42; that is, about 14 per cent of his total working time."—The Unemployment Problem; Research Report No. 43, p. 34.

"A conservative estimate, based on all of the available statistics of loss in working time, would appear to be that wageworkers in the principal manufacturing and mining industries lost on the average from one-fifth to one-third of the full working time during a year from all causes. This estimate does not include those industries which normally operated for short seasons in the year."—Warren, B. S. and Sydenstricker, Edgar: Health Insurance, Its Relation to the Public Health, p. 35. Bulletin No. 76, United States Public Health Service, Washington, March, 1916.

Hornell Hart, in a study of the "Fluctuations in Unemployment in Cities of the United States" covering the period from 1902 to 1917, reached the conclusion that the number of unemployed in cities in the United States, entirely omitting agricultural labor for which no reliable data were, or are, available, fluctuated between one

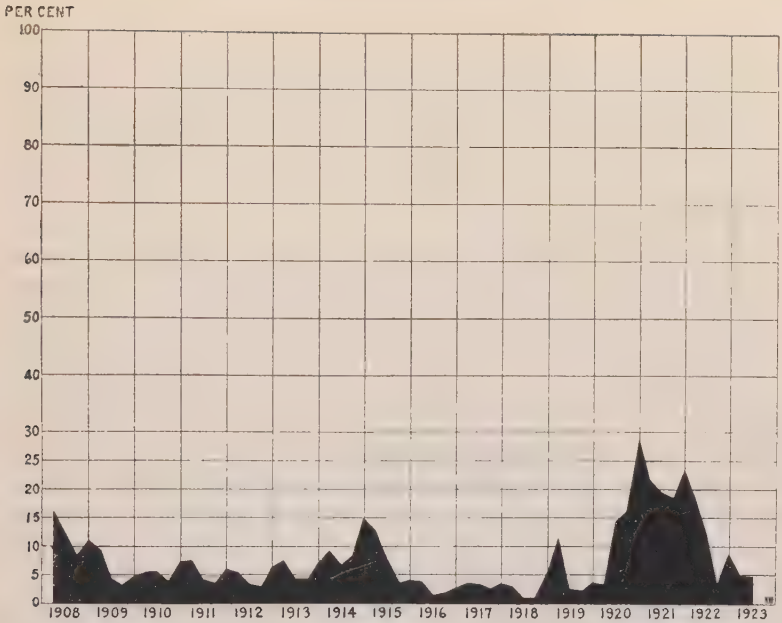


DIAGRAM 3. UNEMPLOYMENT IN LABOR UNIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1908–1923, AS REPORTED BY THE MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIES

This diagram shows unemployment because of lack of work. The percentages showing unemployment from all causes are naturally higher than those here indicated.

averaging good and bad years, from 10 to 12 per cent of all workers are idle all of the time is probably an understatement of the situation. Even though no exact figure can be named, enough is known to show that the aggregate of such unemployment each year reaches

and six millions. The average number of unemployed over this sixteen-year period was estimated as ranging from less than two million to three and one-third millions, or roughly from 15 to 25 per cent of all industrial workers.—Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, Vol. 1, No. 2, May, 1918. Cincinnati.

"Of 15 or 16 million industrial wage-earners, one and one-half million are thus believed to be constantly out of work, averaging both good and bad years, or more than a million and a quarter idle in the manufacturing and mechanical industries alone."—Bradford, Ernest S: Industrial Unemployment: A Statistical Study of Its Extent and Causes, p. 22. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 310, Washington, August, 1922.

large proportions and that the insecurity which it causes, as well as the actual loss of time incurred annually, have become very burdensome to large numbers, actually to millions, of people. Add to this the extra distress attendant upon unemployment during periods of business depression and the problem looms up in its true proportions as one demanding whatever preventive and remedial measures are available.

That is to say, it is now agreed by students of the subject that unemployment is at present a constant phenomenon, and therefore a continuing problem; that at periods it is especially bad; and that although the total amount of unemployment which runs along continuously or the amount of periodic unemployment cannot now be precisely indicated, in any case it is large enough to cause serious loss, waste, and suffering, and to compel attention.

Indeed, it is by no means simply a matter of economic importance or one that can be wholly expressed in numbers or percentages of workers unemployed. It has its far-reaching social as well as psychological and moral bearings. The effect upon the character of the wage-earner has been well described in the report of the Philadelphia Unemployment Conference: "The utter inability of the workers to understand or to change the situation breeds a fatalistic lack of hope that soon manifests itself in lack of ambition and effort." The skilled man drifting to the poorer and poorer positions, the continual struggle to make the one day's wages do for the others when he is unemployed, the loss of morale—these show something of the human side of the statistical story of unemployment.[1]

[1] "Even more striking is the immediate effect of unemployment—the demoralization and degeneration of the workman who is out of a job. He walks the streets in search of work, hopeful at first but as time goes on becoming more and more discouraged. The odd jobs he picks up bring in an uncertain and very insufficient income. His whole life becomes unsteady. From undernourishment and constant anxiety his powers—mental, moral and physical—begin to degenerate. Soon he becomes unfit to work. Finally, he gives up in despair, his family is demoralized, pauperism and vagrancy result. In a large number of cases this is inevitable. The casual demand for labor brings into existence the casual worker. From being unable to get steady work a man becomes unable to do steady work—unreliable, inefficient, 'good for nothing.' During long periods of unemployment, good workmen degenerate into tramps. They become habituated to a life of idleness and uncertainty, so that when at last employment is once more to be had, they are unfit for continuous labor. The merely *unemployed* have become *unemployable*." —Wainwright Commission, New York, Third Report, Unemployment and Lack of Farm Labor, April, 1911, p. 9.

And there is finally something which we are just beginning to recognize—a resentment on the part of the workers against an industrial situation in which such insecurity and uncertainty of employment are possible. It is not only unemployment but the fear of unemployment—the knowledge that any job is uncertain and insecure, subject to the fluctuations of economic change—which are responsible for much of our present industrial unrest.

It is to this problem of unemployment, therefore, and to that of the abuses of the fee-charging agencies, that within the last ten years the conception of a national system of employment exchanges has been addressed. These, together with the fact that practically every public commission touching the question has recommended as one of the first steps against unemployment a system of public employment bureaus, are some of the considerations which have given carrying force to the proposal to establish a system of such bureaus as a remedial measure and to some extent a preventive one.

Effect of Public Bureaus on Unemployment

The effect upon the problem of unemployment of the establishment of public employment exchanges, while as direct as upon the abuses of fee-charging agencies, is not so easy to trace. In the first place it is, of course, fully appreciated that the setting up of public employment bureaus is only one of a number of important measures to be considered in framing an adequate program to reduce unemployment. While their establishment is usually regarded as among the first steps to be taken, and one upon which many of the other steps are dependent or to which they are related, great importance has also been assigned to such other measures as (a) the control of the worker's entrance to the labor market through vocational advice and guidance so that the oncoming generation shall be directed away from overcrowded, stagnant, or decaying trades and toward developing opportunities; (b) the constantly growing application of scientific method to the problems of management, the consequent regularization of industry by better employment personnel methods, and the developing of complementary business enterprises, improvements in methods of making up stock, and the dovetailing of seasonal industries; (c) the regularization of the labor market by the saving of public work to be done during

periods of depression; (d) some form of unemployment insurance to provide for the maintenance of the necessary labor reserves and to supply a possible financial incentive to the regularization of industry; and (e) a number of other measures which would have a helpful influence; such as efforts to make rural life more attractive and thus keep people on the land, an immigration policy which would better distribute the newcomers to America, and the reduction of excessive hours of work.[1]

Unfortunately, the early popular conception of the public employment exchange idea, some of it persisting to this day, tended to claim too much for it; or at any rate unwarranted inferences were drawn from what its advocates said. The conclusion was too often jumped at that, once public labor exchanges were established, the problem of unemployment would be solved; the moment we have unemployment we must establish a public employment bureau, and then the trouble will be over. The leaders in the movement, however, have had no unfounded illusions in the matter. Our discussions with those who have been at work on employment bureau questions longest have shown that they recognized from the beginning that public employment exchanges could not in periods of depression make jobs when or where there were no jobs, nor could they in times of prosperity and labor shortage discover more workers when the supply was limited and no more were to be found.[2]

[1] For a fuller discussion of the problem of unemployment and its remedies see the writings of William M. Leiserson; particularly his article on "The Problem of Unemployment To-day," in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1–24, March, 1916.

See also pamphlets entitled "A Practical Program for the Prevention of Unemployment in America," and "Standard Recommendations for the Relief and Prevention of Unemployment," by John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York. Further data on unemployment and employment bureaus will be found in other publications of the American Association of Labor Legislation, which organization has been the leading advocate of and chief force working for the establishment of a national system of public employment offices in this country.

See also The Labor Market, by Don D. Lescohier. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

[2] "In a consideration of agencies for the distribution of labor, it should be remembered that such agencies deal with one phase, but only one phase, of the unemployment problem. If men are out of work because no work is available, such agencies [employment exchanges] are of no value. Likewise, if men are idle because they are either unwilling or unable to work, an employment office can accomplish nothing. Again, if unskilled men are idle when skilled men only are wanted, there

But the advocates of public employment bureaus did have very clearly in mind certain services which would be of practical value in working against unemployment and against labor shortage at all times, either during prosperity or depression. They thought that a well-functioning system of public labor exchanges could, by an organized and more rapid dissemination of information upon jobs to be had and workers desiring work, reduce the amount of time lost in job-getting and in the securing of labor by employers. Co-ordinated public employment bureaus were seen by these advocates to be centers which would make a specialty of knowledge regarding available jobs—where they are, how many, what they are, the type of ability they call for, and so forth—and also a specialty of knowledge regarding available workers, where they can be found, the number, what in general are their experience and capabilities. In other words, these bureaus would eliminate waste and unnecessary idleness resulting from the irregular and ignorant efforts of individuals to find work or to secure workers.[1]

Affecting Unemployment by Reducing the Labor Reserve

In a re-statement of the main objectives of a system of public employment offices, the organization of the so-called labor market with a view to reducing the reserves of labor and in this way effect-

is no place for an employment bureau. If, however, men with certain qualifications are idle at a time when employers are seeking men with those same qualifications, then an employment agency can be of service. This most obvious limitation upon the usefulness of employment bureaus is important. Much of the criticism to which these agencies, particularly free public agencies, are subjected is due to a failure to recognize the limits of their usefulness. . . . Within the field thus defined employment offices have a great opportunity for usefulness."—Sargent, Frank B.: Statistics of Unemployment and the Work of Employment Offices, p. 34. Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 109, Washington, October 15, 1912.

[1] It was with some such service as this in mind that leaders in social work thirty years ago advocated public bureaus. They saw them, however, from a somewhat different angle. At first, at least, they were confronted with the necessity of assisting individuals who were out of work and in need; and as the constructive side of charitable work developed there was greater and greater emphasis placed upon the importance of securing employment for those who could work rather than merely giving out material relief, necessary as that also was at times. In such a connection it was believed that an organization specializing in employment work could be of great service.

While the interest of charitable societies at that earlier period was chiefly that of constructive assistance to individuals and families in distress, whatever the cause, many of the societies, nevertheless, as more has become known of the causes of unemployment, have favored the establishment of public bureaus for the further purpose of reducing the total amount of irregular work and unemployment.

ing the decasualization of labor has been set as a goal by advocates of such a system. The way in which it is to work out is this: Because of the changing demand and the semi-mobility of labor, each industrial center (particularly where there is considerable casual labor) tends to create its own labor reserve, which will be drawn upon as the demand in that center increases, and will be allowed to accumulate in slack periods. The actual situation is by no means simple. The reserve workers of a single plant are never clearly distinguished from the others. A certain man, out of work, may be in fact much more of a regular worker than others then employed. The individual employment manager can seldom say, "Here are our permanent force, there are our reserves"; but he will admit that when business is slack, men are laid off, and when business picks up again extra laborers will be taken on.

This tendency to build up separate reserves not only adds to the total amount of unemployment, but makes it a constant phenomenon, since the total labor force attracted to a center is not and probably never can be employed continuously.

It is this situation which has created sentiment in favor of an organized labor market. If hiring at particular plants in New York, let us say, means building up labor reserves for each plant, then let us have a central employment office or a centrally controlled service in New York through which the labor force of all these plants will be hired. Their separate reserves will thus be pooled. Or, to put it in the words of Sir William H. Beveridge, the plan is "that all the irregular men for each group of similar employers should be taken on from a common center or exchange, and that this exchange should so far as possible concentrate employment upon the smallest number that will suffice for the work of the group as a whole."[1] This will help to decasualize these workers by releasing a certain number for other jobs.[2] That it is possible for workers "squeezed out" in this way to secure jobs elsewhere has been indicated in the past by the ability of this country for considerable

[1] Beveridge, W. H.: Unemployment: A Problem of Industry, p. 201. London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1919.

[2] See Chapter XXX, Migratory and Casual Workers, page 548 of the present volume, for further discussion of this point and for Beveridge's classic illustration of the way in which it is believed these reserves would be eliminated through the organization of the labor market.

periods at a time to absorb large numbers of immigrants. It was pointed out further by one prominent employment bureau official that the squeezed out can still more certainly be taken care of if immigration is checked for a while. It is the application of this idea to industry which has been urged as a means of reducing unemployment, although it is fully appreciated that the plan will not eliminate the total labor reserve.

Other Ways in Which Public Bureaus May Affect Unemployment

Again, the effect of public bureaus upon unemployment includes a certain amount of assistance toward the long-range planning of public works. Such planning has long been a practical problem. The public bureaus can supply figures regarding the general demand for and supply of labor which will help in determining the best time to engage in public works. Bureaus are automatically collecting information about these matters; also upon wages, hours and the general condition of employment. It has been urged that a centralized employment bureau could thus provide a valuable index of unemployment; it could also indicate the occupations affected and the kinds of employment most needed. Special investigations of these conditions may be and are being conducted, but the advantage of the employment bureau information would be that it is continuous, up to date, and if properly handled, always available. During the war the United States Employment Service not only published a bulletin containing general information and propaganda, but also a weekly statistical report which included the reports of the bureaus and estimates as to the demand and supply of labor based on figures gathered from employers. It is true that these records in the past have not been all that they should be; but the data from the bureaus can be readily improved so as to be of service in working out a program for the saving and shifting of necessary public work to periods of depression.

Further, it is believed that the public bureaus can furnish information of value in vocational guidance, indicating dying trades, new lines of development, and other trends in the employment field. This will ultimately affect unemployment through more

precise adjustment of the supply of workers to the numbers demanded in different occupations.

Finally, in still another way public employment bureaus, it is argued, might have an important influence on this problem. Unemployment insurance, among other things, provides a financial incentive to industry to eliminate irregular work and unemployment. If in this country the time ever comes when some system of unemployment insurance is set up, then public employment exchanges will be practically necessary for its administration, if for no other reason, because no other organizations can be so well equipped as they for making accurate "work tests" as to when workers are actually unemployed and as to the possibility of their securing employment. Possible abuses of the insurance system may thus be controlled through the knowledge of opportunities for employment which the exchanges would have.[1]

Purpose and Scope of the Present Study

Whatever the extent of each of the various ramifying influences exerted by a system of public exchanges, these influences in the aggregate have been conceded in many quarters for some time as sufficient to modify materially the proportions of two big problems before the public—the reduction of abuses by commercial agencies and the lessening of unemployment. The result has been to gain for the public employment exchange that amount of favorable public opinion and backing which we have shown it now has. The reasoning and experience behind these conclusions, however,

[1] Another industrial service to be performed by the exchanges which has had a certain amount of advocacy is that they become centers where employers, workers, public authorities, educational and civic leaders, may come for council and advice on questions of industrial relations.

How far, if any distance at all, the public bureaus should go along this line, however, would be determined best by experience. Employment bureaus do, in their everyday business of bringing employers and workers together, collect certain data which when tabulated for the bureaus' own use are of general value. Progressive superintendents do, as incidental to their main business, give advice to employment managers and other persons in the community. But to make studies of labor turnover, of means for increasing production through adjustments of the working force, of schemes for participation in management, or of the innumerable other matters which have been urged and on which an industrial service organization must necessarily be expert, would demand a staff quite different from that now found in public employment offices and involve a function for which these offices have not thus far been equipped.

presuppose an efficiently organized and operated system of public exchanges. This is not to say that there has not been good public employment work done in the past or that good work is not being done at present; neither would we imply that there has not been progress. It is rather that with due recognition of good service in the past, a great deal more remains to be done. And it is fully realized that the road to greater efficiency and effectiveness is not without its serious obstacles.

If, therefore, the present demand for public employment exchanges, based as it is on twenty years and more of investigation, discussion, and consideration of employment problems, and upon the experience of many of the states which for years have appropriated substantial sums of money for their support, is to be taken as evidence of a real need which they are well designed to meet, then the obstacles must be frankly faced. And it is at this point that the purpose of the present study emerges. The question which immediately arises is this: What, in view of the fact that we do not now have a fully organized, co-ordinated, and operated national system of employment exchanges, can be learned from past experience which will throw light upon the kind of employment system that is possible and desirable in this country, and what can be learned from the same source which will be helpful in considering and planning definite steps in its development?

As this question was examined it was seen to divide into four main parts; and it is to these that the present study has been addressed. They are as follows:

1. *What are the methods and agencies by which employment work is now being done and the place of the public employment bureau among them?*

An investigation of this question will give light upon two main considerations: (a) It will show the way in which the call for employment service is now being met, the variety of the agencies and methods, organized and unorganized, now being used, and the reasons why these various methods are used; and (b) how far they go in relieving the difficulties for the meeting of which a public employment system has been advocated, and what the particular place of the public bureau is among these agencies. It may help

also to clarify our conception of what under existing conditions the public employment bureau can do, and what it cannot do.

2. *What does past experience in public employment work point to as the best general plan of organization and the best methods of general administration of such a service?*

The answer to this question, drawn from the work the offices have done throughout the country and in some other countries, will give data upon questions of federal, federal-state, or other forms of administration; the allocation of the service in the federal and state governments, together with division of responsibility between them; the distribution of offices within a state; the type and number of employment offices for any city or local area, and so on.

3. *What does past experience indicate as to the best methods to be followed in the administration of local public bureaus—that is, in organizing and performing the placement and administrative functions of the local office?*

The answer to this question, drawn as suggested from the practical experience of those who have been engaged in public employment work, will furnish information on methods of receiving, registering, and selecting applicants; methods of handling employers' orders; of co-operation between offices; of selection and training of personnel for the office; record keeping; supervision; publicity, and the like.

4. *What does past experience point to regarding methods which should be followed in working with groups requiring special service?*

The answer here will give light on methods of handling employment work for juniors, migratory and casual workers, farm labor, immigrants, Negroes, handicapped workers, and professional workers.

Subject Matter Presented in Four Major Parts

To sum up at this point: public sentiment favorable to public employment work is seen to have been increasing for the last twenty years or more, some of the most recent and convincing

evidence being found in the reports of a number of important representative public commissions and conferences which have recommended the establishment of both local public exchanges and a national system; and in the growth and number of public bureaus and the substantial appropriations granted by states and other public or quasi-public bodies for the maintenance of this work. A number of reasons are found for this growth of sentiment, the two most important being the belief that an efficient public employment service will reduce or eliminate the abuses of private fee-charging agencies, and that it will materially reduce the evil of unemployment. The reaching of these desirable ends is dependent upon the establishment of an efficiently organized, co-ordinated, and administered system. This study was planned with a view to assisting, as far as in its limited way an inquiry can, those who, both inside and outside the Service, are already seeking to lift it to an increasingly higher plane of accomplishment.

This purpose was believed to be served best by pursuing the study along four main lines; and the data brought together are accordingly presented in the four major parts of the present volume. Part One is devoted to an inquiry into the agencies or media through which employment work is now being carried on, the reasons why employers and workers use these agencies, their usefulness in particular fields, how far they go in relieving the difficulties for the meeting of which a public employment system has been advocated, and what the particular place of the public bureaus is among these agencies.

In looking into these questions certain obstacles and hindrances to the development of the public bureaus become evident. Assuming, however, that most if not all the obstacles must be and can be met by the proper organization and administration of the system, a discussion of these obstacles or hindrances will help to make clear the development which the system should take. It will also lead to a consideration of the general questions of organization and administration dealt with in Part Two, and to the more detailed questions of organization and administration of the local office and special types of service treated respectively in Part Three and Part Four which follow.

PART ONE

AGENCIES AND METHODS BY WHICH EMPLOYMENT WORK IS NOW BEING DONE AND THE PLACE OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAU AMONG THEM

By
BRADLEY BUELL

CHAPTER I

WHAT EMPLOYMENT BUREAU WORK IS

Type Number One

IN ONE of the states of the Middle West is a railroad center which at certain seasons becomes an important transfer point for incoming and outgoing lumberjacks and railroad laborers. The place has only a few manufacturing establishments, and although it is more or less a "one-street" town, its total population has reached nearly 75,000. On the main street several blocks from the store and office section, in what is called the "lower end" of town, stood the employment bureau or labor exchange maintained by the public authorities. It was situated in the middle of the block, having elbowed its way in between several private fee-charging labor agencies which looked out through fronts literally plastered with advertising signs that called mainly for unskilled workers.

The public bureau, a "two-man" office, occupied a rectangular grocery-store type of room on the ground floor. The long room was divided into two parts by a partition running down the middle from front to back. A door opened onto the street from each part. One side of the partitioned space was for men, the other for women. On the men's side, at the back of the room, a counter ran straight across it, and behind this counter or interviewing desk the men's examiner, who was in charge of the bureau, had his records and did his work. A door here allowed him to go back and forth into the other side of the office where his assistant, a woman, was in charge of the work for women; the single telephone, over which came many of the requests or orders from employers for workers, and which served both divisions, stood in the men's section.

The morning of our visit was a busy one. On the men's side a crowd was pushing up to the counter to talk to the examiner, who was trying to do numerous things at the same time. Here were

railroad laborers, among them many commonly known as "hoboes," ready to ship out that evening in a repair gang which the examiner must make up and take to the train; there stood a group of farmhands wanting to know where harvest workers were needed; a number of men in the building trades waited their turn; a couple of office workers were in the crowd; and the ever present casuals making their regular rounds in search of odd jobs demanded the examiner's[1] attention. Speed was important at this particular hour, and while detailed interviewing of each man could not be attempted, the experienced man behind the counter evidently was able to get enough information to size up his men, pick out likely candidates, and give a certain amount of information about the prospective jobs—sometimes in considerable detail. All this he carried on while he consulted his file of employers' orders for men wanted, registered new applicants, answered employers' calls over the telephone, and occasionally talked with a building construction boss or a farmer who dropped in seeking workers.

In the women's department the procedure was more orderly. The woman examiner was interviewing applicants at a low desk, and there were seats also for those awaiting their turn. They were for the most part day's workers and hotel and restaurant helpers, with a small sprinkling of store and office clerks.

As the morning passed, and applicants began to thin out, the examiners were able to give more time to each caller and to other work of the bureau. They grasped the opportunity to go over their files and to prepare the daily report sheet showing the number of applicants registered and workers placed, to solicit employers over the telephone for jobs; and later during the day to visit some at their places of business in a search for still other positions.

A Second Type of Public Bureau

On another day another public bureau of a somewhat different type was visited. This was found in an industrial center of 300,000 population. The office occupied the corner site on a side street a few blocks from the heart of the downtown retail district. Its floor space was greater than that of the smaller office described,

[1] In some offices examiners are also referred to as interviewers. The two words are used interchangeably in this report.

Photo by Graham Photo Co., Los Angeles

MEN'S DIVISION OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICE AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The location of this waiting room on the second floor did not seem to be a deterrent to business. Applicants were interviewed at one corner of a long counter which separated them from the blackboards that listed the vacancies. They were registered in an inner office under more private conditions.

but like the other it had separate departments partitioned off for men and women, and separate entrances. The spaces allotted as waiting rooms were large and were provided with chairs and benches. On the men's side the bureau force worked behind a counter running along the dividing partition; on the women's the examiner was seated at a low desk with a railing around it. There she received applicants in turn, each being seated within the railing during the interview.

The work of the office required a staff of four persons—a superintendent and his assistant, both men; a woman examiner in charge of the women's department; and a woman stenographer who also attended the telephone. Each department had its own telephone service; and at the busiest times of the day the stenographer worked on the men's side; at other times she was available for both departments. The office was not highly enough organized for the tasks of the superintendent to differ greatly from those of his assistant. Aside from the general supervision of the office which fell to the superintendent, both interviewed and registered applicants, received orders for workers, and put men and employers in touch with one another.

The bureau was visited in the season when its work was comparatively heavy; and during the early morning hours from 50 to 75 men were found at one time in the men's waiting room. Outside, others hung around the street corner in groups waiting for a possible "call" to a job. Inside, the blackboards on which jobs were posted were scanned closely, the telephone rang at intervals, and a few employers stopped to obtain help. These came behind the counter to talk with men who were called in, or they bargained with groups of men on the office floor or on the street outside. Occasionally the superintendent or his assistant went out on the floor and interviewed men there. Among the applicants of the morning were a number of skilled workers the interviewing and registering of whom required more time and attention than did that of the unskilled.

The routine in the women's division was much the same as in the men's except that there were fewer applicants and in general the procedure was quieter and more orderly.

During the slack periods of the day the superintendent scanned

the want advertisement columns of the morning papers for possible "leads" to jobs; the general clerical work of the office was looked after; the cards recording employers' orders for workers and workers' applications as well as cards of those who had been sent out to jobs were assembled and systematically filed where they could be readily referred to; employers were followed up by telephone or by letter to learn what positions had been filled and what were still open; and other routine matters attended to.

A Third Public Bureau

Later on still a third kind of public bureau was visited, one situated in an industrial and transportation center of about 800,000 people. It was larger than the other two bureaus, but its chief difference lay in its departmentalization—in its separation into divisions which gave special attention to particular types of labor. For example, in the men's division examiners were definitely assigned to five main groups of workers for whom they specialized: skilled workers, unskilled workers, clerical help, farmhands, and juniors. A smaller volume of business was being done in the women's division, but there too it was found desirable to assign examiners specifically to three groups: clerical and factory workers, institution and day's workers, and domestics. The regular staff ranged from 12 to 15 persons.

The bureau was just off the main transportation and retail business center of the city. It occupied two floors and had a comparatively large frontage on the street. The ground floor housed the men's division, and the second floor the women's division. Each had its own entrance. The women's floor was divided by a railing. Behind it the examiner in charge and her two assistants, each handling a particular group of workers, interviewed applicants at low desks, with both applicant and examiner seated; in front of the railing sat those waiting their turn.

On the men's floor a counter ran along one side of the large room, and behind it at intervals were stationed the different examiners, the class of workers each handled being indicated on a sign. The office considered this scheme an important and strategic part of its organization. These different examiners were the points at which the service of the bureau was concentrated and through

which it extended back and forth from employer to worker and from worker to employer. They were the means of personal and direct communication between both, the office machinery being set up merely to make contact the more quickly and advisedly.

Specialization gave more opportunity for the examiners to take pains in their task and for the exercise of good judgment; and in order that they might have the necessary time for the type of work they performed they were relieved of much of the clerical routine in which all workers in smaller offices share. A clerk was provided, for example, to take incoming orders from employers, and a registration clerk in both the men's and the women's divisions who had the preliminary interview with each new applicant.

Space adjoining the counter on the men's floor also accommodated others of the bureau's staff. A small room was partitioned off here for the superintendent; and the necessary room provided for stenographers, statistical and clerical helpers, the operator of the telephone switchboard, and for office files and other furniture.

The Three Examples Typical of Public Bureaus

The three employment offices described above illustrate the three main types of bureaus operated by the public authorities. These particular offices in work and organization were probably somewhat above the average of the 450 or more public bureaus which were in existence at the time of our field investigations, or of the more than 70 visited by our staff, although they were probably not above the average of public offices which during the last decade have been operating in the eight or ten states that have gone farthest in developing public employment work. Moreover, among the 450 bureaus one undoubtedly will find variations from the three types; an office, for instance, doing general work but making a specialty of a particular phase of employment; another developing a somewhat different form of office organization and procedure; or another in which one department had become big enough and important enough to be made a branch office or a bureau by itself. In general, however, the three illustrations we have given indicate the large groups into which all the public bureaus may be roughly classed.

The first illustration typifies the "two-man" office, the small-

est staffed bureau which is thought to be able to render effective service. The second represents the middle sized bureau, where the volume of work required a larger staff than in the first case and some division of functions among its members; the third, where there is greater volume and greater division. This last represents the largest and most highly organized of the public bureaus.

Three Fee-Charging Agencies

On another occasion a visit was paid to one of the private fee-charging employment agencies of a large middle western city, which was both a manufacturing and great railroad center. This office, or labor agency as it was called, which handled men only, was on the edge of the main business district among a row of agencies that almost lined the long block opposite one of the big railroad stations of the city. Its office space was of the long and narrow storeroom type, divided between the people in charge of the office and the applicants for work by a counter running the long way of the room. The manager or head of the agency had a desk at the front, behind the counter, where he could see people coming in and going out; and with him were a couple of men helpers. The office equipment included a telephone and some rather informal devices for keeping books of stubs that recorded the men sent out to jobs and the letters and memoranda noting requests for labor. Blackboards outside the building and many placards inside, covering a great deal of wall space, told of the kinds of jobs available or the types of labor needed. In a few instances the workers wanted were indicated by nationalities—so many Italians, or Greeks, or Slavs for mining at this place or for railroad construction at that.

Again a busy day was chosen for the visit and a crowd of 25 to 30 men were found in the office during almost the whole of the forenoon; much of the time there were as many standing about in small groups outside. Chiefly unskilled workers, they were being served fairly rapidly, since for this type of worker and job, interviewing and record keeping are practically at the minimum. A fee was collected for the service offered by the agency.

In general the manager dealt with the employer-end of the business, sometimes through letters. Occasionally the office employed

Photo by Underwood & Underwood

AGENCIES ON CANAL STREET, CHICAGO

These are fairly illustrative of the fee-charging labor agencies of the Middle West. This section of Canal Street, which includes other agencies outside the limits of the picture, has become a labor market of some importance. The signs are typical of those used all along the street.

scouts who spent part of their time soliciting jobs and the remainder keeping in touch with padrones and others who could help round up men out of work.

A Second Type of Private Bureau

In a large city of the East we visited another type of commercial or fee-charging agency. Its business was entirely with office workers, and it had two good-sized connecting rooms above the ground floor of one of the large office buildings in the main business district. One room accommodated the men's division and the other the women's, and each opened into the main corridor with separate entrances. The separation of divisions was complete, except that the cashier and some of the clerical force served both.

In the women's division the office was divided the long way of the room by a counter. Callers came into the waiting room in front of the counter where there were plenty of chairs and a long table for filling out application blanks. Applicants did not fill out blanks, however, until after they had talked at least in a preliminary way with one of the three interviewers stationed at desks behind the counter. Both applicant and interviewer were seated and the conversation was in private. All of the examiners were women, the head interviewer being in charge of the division.

The clerical work of both offices was done at one end of the space behind the counter in the women's division where application cards and other records were filed in a modern system. Two typists and filing clerks were busy here. A door at this end of the office made the files of each division accessible to the other and allowed the clerical workers of both divisions to move freely back and forth.

The organization of the men's side practically duplicated that of the women's division, except that all the examiners were men, as was also the manager of the agency. The staff of both departments together varied from 10 to 12 people.

A registration fee was charged at the time the application was filed, and an agreement entered into for an additional payment from the salary received when a position was obtained.

A Third Type of Private Bureau

Still another kind of commercial agency was seen during the course of our investigations. It was in a city of about 200,000 people, dealt with women seeking employment in domestic service and day's work, and was situated not far from the business section of the city, in that part in which women occupied in domestic service lodged. In general its organization and equipment were similar to the women's division of the agency just described, except that this one was smaller. The office space was smaller, usually two persons constituted the staff, and not so much attention was given to records.

Examples of the Usual Fee-Charging Agency

The fee-charging employment agencies throughout the country, the chief competitors of the public bureaus, divide into three main types: the small agency making a specialty of placing unskilled men; the small agency with a small staff dealing almost exclusively with domestics and women day's workers; and the larger offices serving clerical and office workers, both men and women. The three examples described above are fairly representative of these groups. The agency dealing chiefly with unskilled men is the most common. While no figures are available for the whole country, observation indicates that probably half the commercial bureaus are of this type.

Primary Function of Employment Bureau Work

Taken together the six offices outlined above give a fairly complete picture of the essential functions and nature of the employment work carried on in the two most important groups of bureaus in this country—the public bureaus and the fee-charging agencies. While the six types are easily distinguished from one another, and each has a clear difference in purpose, organization, and equipment, one need not look far to see that they all have much in common. Wherever their location, whatever their personnel or their particular specialty, all were engaged in doing the same thing: providing centers to which employers brought information regarding work opportunities and their need of workers, and workers brought

information regarding their capacities and their need of employment. By means of the telephone, by personal interviews in the bureaus, by correspondence, by watching the daily papers, and by visiting employers at their places of business, superintendents and their assistants in the bureaus were gathering facts regarding possible positions and jobs. They were at the same time through interviewing workers, collecting in the same center data concerning the available supply of labor. And by means of this knowledge, and their skill and experience in making at least a preliminary selection of candidates for positions, they were putting the interested parties in touch with one another.

That is to say, whatever the routine, however general or specialized the experience of bureau staffs, however simply or highly organized the work of the different offices, however well or poorly the work was being done, in the last analysis all the bureaus visited were engaged in doing the same essential things: first, giving information about jobs to workers, and information about available workers to employers; and second, helping to bring the two together, the worker wanting a job and the employer wanting workers. Thus the *primary function of employment bureau work is seen in practice to be the collection and making available of information on work openings and on workers in search of them, and through the use of this information the making of contacts between workers wanting jobs and employers wanting workers.*

Looking Ahead From This Definition

It is this function or service by employment offices operated by the public authorities with which this investigation is concerned. But while these pages will deal mainly with the public bureaus, the fact is not lost sight of that only a part of the employment work of the country is transacted by them. The private fee-charging agencies were found to be doing a large amount of business; and in addition a considerable number of other agencies and mediums were observed also to be performing this primary function of spreading information on jobs and of making contacts between the interested parties.

These agencies and mediums group themselves into two main divisions. The first are the direct, or unorganized methods

which include the securing of a new job through: (1) more or less promiscuous application at the employer's gate; (2) application made to a previous employer; (3) the help of a friend or mutual acquaintance; (4) a waiting list kept by the employer; (5) a number of miscellaneous informal means.

The second are the indirect, more formal or organized methods which include: (1) the use of want advertisements in newspapers and periodicals; (2) employment agencies maintained by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, employers' associations and the like; (3) agencies maintained by trade unions; (4) agencies run by fraternal and professional organizations in which both employers and workers are interested; (5) bureaus operated by philanthropic organizations; (6) private fee-charging agencies; and (7) the bureaus maintained by public authorities.

Our inquiry has shown certain advantages which employers or workers or both believe are connected with each of these mediums; certain clear disadvantages to one or both parties or to the public which they believe inheres in each of them; as well as certain suggestions for the future development of the public offices which may be drawn from the methods of operating these various forms of employment work and from the attitude of workers and employers toward them.

CHAPTER II

DIRECT AND UNORGANIZED EMPLOYMENT METHODS AND AGENCIES

OBSERVATION of employment bureau work in operation shows it to consist, as already indicated, first, in the employer's learning that a workman with the general qualifications which he demands is available, and the worker that a position of the sort he is looking for is open; and, second, in their coming together, usually face to face, although the contact may be by correspondence.

The whole of the employment transaction, or of the job-getting and job-filling process, however, includes in addition to these first and second steps two others. The third is a certain amount of bargaining or discussion over the terms of employment, and the fourth the reaching of an agreement. Because these latter steps are also of significance in choosing methods by which to effect the meeting of employer and worker, and because the matter of bargaining particularly affects the whole employment process, these steps should be noted, at least briefly, before discussing the various instrumentalities through which employment work is being carried on.

Bargaining and Agreement Making

In industries or trades where labor is organized, the bargaining over the rates at which workers are to be employed and over other conditions of work is done collectively. Wage rates having been set by the national or local trade union for a particular period of time, and the worker having satisfied the employer that he is qualified to handle the position in question, there is very little bargaining that he can do. In the trades which are not organized, however, the matter of bargaining, since worker as well as employer wishes to arrive at an agreement favorable to himself, still remains an important part of the job-getting transaction. And the number of workers in the unorganized trades is very large.

Numerous instances in our inquiry showed that the character of the information, which either employer or worker possessed regarding a particular job, and the circumstances surrounding the contact had an important bearing upon the bargaining power of either party. A young steamfitter, for example, interviewed in Milwaukee, had got his last job as follows: He knew a foreman in a certain shop and called him up. The foreman had nothing then but was willing to get in touch with a friend in another factory. A job was open there. This the steamfitter then went out and got on satisfactory terms.

From the worker's standpoint there were several important things about this method of getting a job. First, the information which the foreman gave the steamfitter was accurate and complete; the latter was fully informed about the job for which he was to apply. Second, his meeting with the prospective employer was on a much more personal basis than it would have been had he gone to him without an introduction. Third, both of these factors combined to increase the man's bargaining ability and helped him to come to more satisfactory terms.

In other instances the position of advantage was held by the employer. In a Cleveland factory, for example, business had begun to pick up after a decline and the management needed about 50 men. A display advertisement calling for 200 men was inserted in the "Help Wanted" column of one of the morning papers. It listed the men wanted in a number of occupations, so many lathe hands, drill press operators, and so on, but stated no wages nor other information. During the day several hundred men applied. None knew exactly the qualifications required for the jobs, the terms likely to be granted, nor other important details such as working conditions. Moreover, as far as any of them could tell all the jobs might have been filled. Each man passed a small window through which an employment examiner asked him to supply certain facts about himself. It is obvious that with such incomplete information in the possession of the applicant and with a contact made in this way his bargaining power was at its minimum, while the employer's was at a maximum.

Other illustrative cases were found in large numbers. They all showed that though a man may be fully qualified for a job, often

the kind of information which he obtains about it and the means or person through which he gets this information, may materially affect the circumstances under which he meets his possible employer; and that these circumstances may influence his ability not only to get the job but to get it under favorable terms. That similar factors in a measure operate when an employer seeks a worker makes it evident that the two steps—the furnishing of information and the securing of employment contacts—are important not only because they are of the essence of employment bureau work, but because of their bearing upon the bargaining and agreement-making powers of each party; in other words because of their significance in the whole job-getting process.

It follows from this that bargaining and agreement-making, while outside, strictly speaking, of the public employment bureau's scope and hence the scope of this study, need, nevertheless, to be kept in mind in considering the various agencies and methods chosen by employer and worker for the making of employment contacts.[1] Both are important parts of a process of which the public employment bureau is often the other part. The influence of an agency or method upon bargaining powers is therefore important in choosing a medium when either employer or employe is trying to fill his needs.

Direct and Unorganized Mediums

As already pointed out, employment work as here defined is being carried on in the United States by two main groups of mediums or agencies. The first group—those in which the information was given and the contacts were made either between employers and workers directly and without the assistance of a third party, or through an intermediary not formally organized for the purpose —will be first considered.

[1] While this study has to do only with the activities which may be classified under our definition of public employment bureau work—the furnishing of information on employment and the making of employment contacts—an exception should be noted for a few cases where the public bureaus actually aid one party or the other in bargaining over jobs. These cases are found where bureaus organized for handicapped workers, for juniors, and for other special groups, intercede and try to persuade employers to take specific persons. Discussion of the methods of work for these special groups will be found in Part Four of this volume.

I. APPLICATION AT THE GATE

The picture of the line of applicants at a factory employment office in the early morning hours is all too familiar. Two weeks spent by the writer in a New England city interviewing employment managers showed that, for 26 firms employing approximately 25,000 people, without a single exception men were continually applying at their gates. They came without any solicitation on the part of the firms, and the majority of the latter found this labor source quite adequate. Similarly in Louisville, a clothing manufacturer secured at the factory office all the girls needed, and the same was true of a Milwaukee cigar factory.

Every city visited showed employment managers who obtained some of their labor supply in this way. Many regard it as inevitable and desirable that workmen should use this method of applying for work.

In these instances where the coming together of employer and worker is a direct one without outside assistance, as a rule the employer has no advance information on the qualifications of the workers who apply, nor have the vast majority of workers who call any specific information about jobs which may be open. On their meeting, information is given simultaneously, to the employer about the man, to the man about the job.

Of course not all the men who apply at a factory gate come without advance information of a certain sort. Some come because an employment bureau or a friend has sent them, because they have seen an advertisement calling for labor, or because a sign outside the factory tells them that workers are wanted. They may have heard that "so and so" were taking on men; others may know that a shortage of labor exists in their trade and that they can probably get in anywhere; or still others that a certain plant hires many laborers of their kind and that the chances of finding vacancies there are as good as, or better than, elsewhere. Thus, while in some cases employers and workers respectively possess a certain amount of information, the fact remains that in a large proportion of cases neither parties prior to their meeting have much that is specific.

Advantages to Employer in Application at Gate

A number of reasons were found why employers choose the application-at-the-gate method of supplying their employment needs. First, it is an easy method. It requires the minimum of effort on a manager's part. He can go about his other duties and when convenient select what additional workmen he may want. If he finds none needed it is a simple matter for him to dismiss applicants with the brief remark "nothing doing," or even to put up a sign to that effect. Second, a number of employment managers take a certain pride in the fact that men continually come to their factories without solicitation. "It gives me a good deal of satisfaction to say that even during the war we had little trouble in getting all the men we needed from those who applied at the factory," was the statement of one employer, the accuracy of which was sufficiently vouched for. Even the employer who on a certain morning complained that he "had to wade through 150 men at the gate in order to get to his office," obviously was not so displeased with the situation as might appear.

A third reason is that when numbers of men are continually available, there is more likelihood that an employer will get some worker, and perhaps one well fitted for the job. The employment manager of an electric light and power company wanted to have just as many people coming to him as possible. "We interview everyone that comes," he stated, "and if we haven't a job we encourage him to keep at us until we do have something." Other managers also encourage men to call again even though no definite assurance of employment can be given, because it helps in making good selections when new labor is required. And a fourth reason given is akin to the last; the larger the number of men asking for work the greater the bargaining power of the employer in agreeing on wages and terms of work. The competition of workmen against each other makes the employer more able to get what he wants; and conversely, the men asking work became less confident—particularly if they are forced to wait long periods before being interviewed or are treated with a good deal of gruffness. There are advantages also to the employer in that he can get the information he desires regarding applicants without disclosing any of the de-

tails about jobs he has to offer, such as wages, permanency, or working conditions.

Why Workers Apply at the Gate

The workers' reasons for following the foregoing method were two: First, very often necessity forced them to it. Many workers have no sources of information on jobs, no affiliations or friends who can make contacts for them, or they do not know about or have not become accustomed to using organized employment agencies. In need of work they tramp from plant to plant to find it. But application at the gate was resorted to also by many who, having tried the employment agencies or sought the help of friends without result, felt that they must, before giving up, strike out and see what they could do on their own account.

Second, even where men did not feel impelled by necessity, some believed their chances were a trifle better if they applied at the factory gate. They clung, not without certain justification, to the old adage of the early bird and the worm. There might be an unexpected opening which could be secured before the employer called upon an employment bureau or had time to advertise. Part of their belief in the method was also due to desire to work in a particular factory and the feeling that they were more likely to get in there if they went to it direct.

II. GOING BACK TO PREVIOUS EMPLOYER[1]

In Dayton the owner of a machine shop estimated that "at one time or another," as he put it, most of the first-class machinists in town, perhaps 500 or 600, had worked for him. "And I either know or can easily find out how to get hold of a man I want." An employer in Long Island City made a similar statement. "All of my people," he remarked, "come from the neighborhood here around our plant. I've got a regular force of *my own people* who are either working for me steadily or whom I know I can get when I need. Occasionally a fellow leaves me because he thinks he can

[1] While in most cases the resumption of an old relationship would be effected by calling at the gate, the method here described introduces factors and considerations which we believe warrant its treatment under this separate head.

get something better, but sooner or later he comes back; and when he does I take him on if I can."

For one large foundry in Cleveland, the employment manager relied almost entirely on men who had been with him before. "I have a series of form letters," he stated, "which I send out to men who have worked in our factory and who have been laid off for some reason. I tell them their old job is open for them if they wish to come back. When there is a general lay-off our men go on 'leave of absence,' and when work picks up I send them word to return."

Workers themselves told of this method of securing employment. They went to a plant because they "had worked there before and knew the foreman, and that it was a good place in which to work." Returned soldiers and sailors used this method to a considerable extent; and because of the prestige which their service gave them and of public opinion on the subject, the contact with their old employers was, providing their relationship had been at all satisfactory, on a more favorable basis than any other they were likely to make.

Thus a second method by which positions were obtained and filled was the return of workmen to their previous employers. Obviously this method has many good points. First, the contact is on a more personal basis than in many cases, being exactly the opposite of that where the man happens in at the gate. The "ice has been broken." Second, the employer knows the ability of the worker, his habits of regularity, sobriety, and the like; the worker what the job calls for, its opportunities for advancement, its permanency, and the men with whom he will associate.

Moreover, when a former employer tries to get a man back, the latter feels a not unnatural sense of pride and independence. "My old boss sent around for me the other day; he wants me to come back with him," said one, with considerable self-satisfaction. Another reported that two or three people had been trying to get him and he didn't know exactly what he would do—he was pretty well satisfied where he was. This personal selection meant more to the worker than to the employer, but even the latter saw an advantage in it also. In the professional field, to be sought after is one of the criteria of success.

III. CONTACT MADE BY ACQUAINTANCES

In the two methods described above, application at the gate and return to previous employer, obviously no outside machinery is used: contacts are made directly between employer and worker.[1] Three other unorganized methods of bringing employers and workers together to discuss jobs were also observed: contact made by acquaintances, waiting list or application file, and a number of miscellaneous unorganized mediums. The latter differed, however, from the two former in that information was furnished and employers and workers were brought together by some third party

[1] Another method perhaps should be noted here. During the course of our inquiries we found that in most establishments a certain number of jobs were being filled by the promotion or transfer of workers within the organization. A knitting firm in Springfield, Massachusetts, for example, started girl workers on a simple process and later transferred them to more complicated machines. Similarly the superintendent of a machine shop in another city stated that he believed in promoting men from the ranks. His method was to take "a good man, break him in on simple machine work, and train him up." Another firm filled all their better positions, executive and semi-executive, by promotion. This they thought was good business policy.

A printing house visited in Ohio had what it called "a very definite system of promotion." It took boys in and trained them itself, and also had an arrangement with a technical school to which it could send a certain number of men for a two-year course without tuition charge. A large department store found that "the only way it could keep its employes was by promotions and transfers from one department to another. Cash girls, for example, who had shown special aptness, were transferred to the bookkeeping department.

That at least some positions in most concerns should be filled by promotions or transfers was everywhere accepted by employers as a matter of course. On first thought it may appear that in such cases no new employment contacts are made; closer observation, however, has shown that even where employer and workman are seeing each other almost daily, they must come together for the specific purpose when a man is to be promoted to a new job. The terms of the new employment must be discussed and a decision reached, but this is done without the assistance of an outsider.

In some respects this method is very satisfactory to both employer and workman. On the employer's side, very complete information about the man's ability is at hand, for there has been opportunity for personal observation of his work. Employers stated also that the morale in the factory was improved by holding out the reward of promotion for good service. It saves time, moreover, and it is usually easier to take the man at hand who is personally known and who is already acquainted with the plant, rather than to search for an outsider, although he may be better qualified.

The worker's reasons for approving this system are that, aside from promotion, he has full information regarding the new job, loses no time in making the change, and does not need to give much thought to the possibility of someone else getting the place ahead of him.

But even in cases where considerable use is made of this method, it is still necessary to provide some means of securing workers at the bottom and elsewhere to take the places of those transferred or promoted.

or means acting informally and in the main incidentally in connection with other work. The most common form which this took was where the employer recruits workers through his own employes and workers learn of jobs through friends or acquaintances. Among the more highly trained professional class this method is a common means of effecting changes. Some employers of skilled and unskilled labor relied upon their foremen for this assistance, and others occasionally found workers who seemed to have special facility in keeping in touch with available people.

Many employers of immigrant labor relied on this method almost entirely. The manager of a big New York clothing firm situated in a neighborhood composed chiefly of Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians, for example, depended very largely upon his own workers for additional help.

The situation was similar with reference to Negro workers. As is the case with immigrants, they usually live in colonies and have their own social life. News about everything, jobs included, spreads more or less rapidly by word of mouth as they meet in their organizations and public gatherings. The owner of a foundry stated that one of his best sources of labor supply was a colored minister who worked in the shop during the week and had a regular preaching appointment on Sundays: he continually brought good colored workers from his congregation.

The same method is in very common use by workers. Often a friend or relative not only gives the information but helps to make the bargain, as was the case with a young fellow who had a friend in the stock room of a certain factory. "He took me up personally," the young man said, "to see the boss and told him that I could handle the job. I got it and started in."

Why Employers and Workmen Use the Method

Four reasons are given by employers and workers why this method has proved satisfactory. First, it is easy and handy. When an employer is on friendly terms with the men in his shop, he goes to them and suggests that they bring somebody in. It takes less time for him to step into the factory and talk with an employe for two or three minutes than to write a newspaper advertisement, continue it for several days, and then select a man from numerous

candidates; or than to call up an employment agency and explain the character of the job to someone frequently not familiar with it.

The method is convenient for the worker too. One employer stated that his men generally knew that a job was going to be vacant before the management did. To pass such news on to a friend is an act not limited to any walk of life.

Second, the method puts a more personal element into the relationship between employer and worker. The modern organization of industry has set difficulties in the way of employers and workers knowing one another, and there has been a tendency to regard labor as just so much of the necessary equipment for running the plant. This trend has had its obvious disadvantages to everybody concerned. The worker objects because the process submerges his individuality as well as his personality; and while employers' interests seem less immediately affected, the more far-seeing of them are convinced that their labor troubles can be greatly lessened and the morale of the plant improved if, through the establishment of personnel departments or schemes for workers to participate in management, or by other methods, the workers' desire for recognition and self-development is to some extent satisfied. We found, in fact, that it was the plants which emphasized the value of good personnel relations that systematically cultivated their own workers as a source of supply. The method was thought to improve industrial relations.

Third, the recommendation of a worker by a worker usually means much since it comes from someone who desires to maintain his own standing with a company. The Fifth Avenue Coach Company of New York states that the company feels assured that new men brought in by old employes will prove satisfactory, because the latter "hesitate to recommend for employment any man concerning whom there is the slightest doubt as to his ability to live up to our standards and requirements."[1]

The information, too, which a worker gets from his friend is

[1] The fuller statement is as follows: "The majority of our new men are brought to us by our old employes. That is significant of three things: . . . Knowing our reputation for courtesy, loyalty and efficiency and the desire on the part of each employe to improve upon it, they hesitate to recommend for employment any man concerning whom there may be the slightest doubt as to his ability to live up to our standards and requirements, etc."—Pamphlet issued by Fifth Avenue Coach Company, New York, entitled "A Courtesy Contest," p. 11.

usually of an accurate and intimate kind. "The men in the shop know the requirements of the job better than I do," remarked one employer. Not only that, they can pass along information on the kind of person the boss is, on the firm's general attitude toward labor, transportation facilities to and from the plant, the congeniality of brother workmen, and on other items of importance to the man looking for a job.

Fourth, employers find that frequently a worker represents a circle of acquaintances on which he can draw when he needs to recruit large numbers of men. Some offered bonuses for every worker brought in who was hired. It is interesting to note, however, that few with whom we talked were enthusiastic about this scheme, and a number had definitely discarded it as a failure. It stimulated quantity, not quality, and tended to destroy the personal element by commercializing it.

For the worker there is advantage in having many avenues through which to learn of jobs. He can make a better selection than would otherwise be possible when competition for jobs is keenest. Each friend represents a center of information which may possibly result in an employment contact.

IV. WAITING LIST OR APPLICATION FILE

Many employers interviewed used a waiting list or application file. In it were recorded such data, in addition to the worker's name and address, as would help toward an intelligent selection. While this is a device which an employer rather than an outside agency is responsible for, it is described here because it is in the nature of an outside source to which a manager goes for information before getting in touch with a man; it is, moreover, seldom or never worked out in a very highly organized way. And for the worker who gets a job because his name is on a list, it is even more indirect and external.[1]

The opinions of employers as to the usefulness of these lists varied greatly. A few placed a good deal of emphasis on them. One very large concern hiring all types of workers kept "an appli-

[1] In some cases these lists were merely a part of the process of receiving applicants at the gate. Since the method, however, in the aspect considered here, is used more as a means of securing immediate employment, it is discussed separately.

cation file of all the people coming in for jobs." No person, however, was allowed to file an application unless he seemed to be of the type needed by the firm; their files were thus live files and the officials turned to them first.

A firm in New England stated that aside from people whom their workers brought in, they filled all jobs from their waiting lists. "We keep a man," the manager said, "on the list for two or three months before throwing his card away. Our returns on these men are nearly 100 per cent, and a man will come over here even if he is working at another place."

Other employers, however, were less enthusiastic. Several kept applications on file for a couple of weeks or a month only; they believed that after such time the applicant would surely have another job. For common laborers few employers thought it worth while to keep applications for more than a few days, and many paid no attention to such registrations at all. In general, employers estimated that the proportion of responses received from calls sent out to persons on their lists varied from 30 to 10 per cent; and a number said that "the answers seldom amounted to anything."

Workers as a rule had little faith in such lists. "I went up for a job but they didn't have anything. Just took my name and address. You know what that means." This comment expressed the common attitude. They saw nothing in the method to count upon and usually felt that it was merely an indirect way of getting rid of them.

Advantages Attributed to the Method

As to the merits of the method there is little additional to be said except that through it an employer may get into touch with a selected group that other employers may not know are available. Many who kept no general waiting list still recorded skilled men in trades where a shortage of labor was always imminent. The time element also entered in. The list is something to which an employer can quickly turn, and by inquiry learn within a short time whether or not the worker is available.

In regard to workers there was also some feeling that because contact had once been made it was easier to renew relations; the employer might know a little more about the man, the latter have

a better idea about the job. The degree to which these things were true, however, was so uncertain that the service attributable to a waiting list appeared relatively unimportant. It is on the whole an employer's device which answers the purpose of the workers only indirectly.

V. MISCELLANEOUS DIRECT AND UNORGANIZED EMPLOYMENT CONTACTS

The four methods described above are, from the point of view of quantity, probably the most important of the direct and informal methods by which employers secure workers and workers jobs, but they do not include all the many ways in which this type of employment contact is made. Numerous miscellaneous methods were found in which, from some outside source, information was given to either employer or worker. A few illustrative cases may be briefly cited:

1. One type of contact-making, that of getting into touch with men or shops that supply materials to employers of labor, was seen in a talk with an old horseman, who said that he had at one time been in charge of John D. Rockefeller's stables. "When I was in the horse business I didn't change jobs very often. There weren't so many of them in those days. I found that the best way for me to get a line on something was through a harnessmaker's shop. A man in charge of stables has to buy and look after the harnesses. He gets to know the harnessmakers and to talk about his work, and as other men are doing the same thing, the news about jobs collects at the shops. A supply man's recommendations are pretty good too; and employers or managers are likely to go to them when they need men."

2. A marine steward on the Great Lakes gave similar testimony. According to his experience, "the best way to land something, outside of your friends amongst the captains, is to hang around the marine stores. There are several of them on the lakes, and they are general loafing places for lake people. A captain always comes up when his boat docks, for supplies and to 'chin,' and if he needs a steward he usually says so." He added that a good deal of petty graft was connected with this process of job-getting. "The cap-

tains always expect cigars and drinks and you have to treat 'em well."

3. In one town the boss baker in a large baking establishment was a common source both of jobs and of men. He had been in the business for a long time, knew most of the men in the trade, and became a natural and informal medium through which many of the changes occurred.

The above instances are enough to illustrate how naturally employment contact-making takes place whenever people for one purpose or another come together.

VI. CHANGES IN METHODS AS SITUATIONS VARY

Obviously, not all the methods described are used every time a job is filled or a man seeks a job. In a particular case one method may automatically exclude others; in other cases the service may be performed by several agencies or mediums. Perhaps the best example of this is the situation in which employers and workers find themselves when there is a shortage of labor or of jobs. In the first case, the employer sees that he must rely less than formerly on applicants at the gate. He must search rather than wait for workers to come to him. Perhaps he must go far afield and bring in men from out of town—a larger undertaking than any yet described. Competition between employers is quickened. They resort to many devices for gaining advantage over one another or enticing away men already employed. The "stealing" of labor during the war was notorious. Moreover, the employer cannot be so discriminating in his selection of workers. He is glad to get almost anyone who can do the job. And, finally, in making the bargain he must accept the fact that he is under a greater disadvantage than when labor is plentiful.

As for the worker when the jobs outnumber people to fill them, he can pay less attention to the means of securing work; the chances are that almost any factory to which he may go will have a job which he can fill. The crowd at the gate has disappeared. His position in making the bargain is strong enough so that he does not feel the need of the friendly word of an acquaintance. Competition with fellow-workmen has more or less ceased.

CHAPTER III

INADEQUACY OF UNORGANIZED METHODS AND THE NEED OF ORGANIZED SERVICE

THE question which immediately arises after reviewing these direct methods and after noting the reasons for their use is whether they alone are equal to the demand which has been growing for an efficient means of securing jobs for men, and men for jobs, quickly and satisfactorily. If they are not adequate, then the problem of establishing additional mediums or agencies for employment contact-making needs to be pursued further.

Resort to Other Methods as Evidence of Inadequacy

One of the first and most important pieces of evidence bearing on the question of adequacy is the fact that other agencies for making employment contacts have been set up and that some of them have done and are still doing a great amount of business. In other words, that employers' associations, trade unions, philanthropic societies, private fee-charging agencies, not to mention various government agencies, federal, state, and city, have found it expedient to operate formally organized employment bureaus, and that these have been patronized in large volume by both employers and workers, we may take as *prima facie* evidence that the unorganized means of recruiting and job-getting described in the last chapter have not been sufficient to meet the needs of either managers or men.

The situation is well illustrated in another phase of employment work. Early in the history of the clothing industry, when clothing was given out to be wholly or partly made in the home, the obtaining of help was a direct and simple process handled by the owner or the manager of the business. But as the manufacture of clothing and other articles became more and more highly organized, and the number of employes per factory increased, it was no longer possible for the manager, along with his other respon-

sibilities, to hire the new workers. The responsibility for making decisions on labor policies and conditions, on production, selling, et cetera, was divided through a greater degree of organization; and in many cases special personnel departments within the business have been established. During all of this period of change, however, a certain amount of clothing, diminishing undoubtedly in quantity, still continues to be made in small shops that employ home labor where the head of the business attends to all questions of hiring and management. He and those who follow this practice generally believe that the small shop methods that permit the maximum of personal supervision are good for employer, worker, and consumer. Nevertheless, no one who knows the immense demand for ready-made clothing would say that the old home-industry methods can supply sufficient clothing for the present needs of society. Indeed, in other industries we have only to look about us to see how inadequate the old method is; so much so that it is being abandoned and other means devised to take its place.

The situation in the clothing trade and other large industries is analogous to that in the employment bureau field. Earlier, certain direct, man-to-man, and unorganized methods were adequate to bring the individual wanting work and the concern needing a worker together. But the development of industry has led to the establishment of organized outside services. The fact that some employers and workers still see certain advantages in the old method does not prove its efficacy for the present day. Indeed, the search for new agencies for making employment contacts is the result of a clear conviction of need on the part of many who have seen the employment situation from quite different angles.

I. NUMBERS AND TYPES OF WORKERS PLACED

Our field work included a study of the data of the two important types of employment agencies, the public bureaus and the private fee-charging bureaus, which have grown up in recent years; and the numbers of workers placed by some of them. Consideration of the facts behind these figures shows some of the reasons why such agencies have been resorted to, and at the same time gives further light upon the inadequacy of the direct methods.

As is the case in so many other phases of employment work, recent and complete figures on the various types of the private fee-charging bureaus throughout the country are not available. It has been possible, however, to secure certain significant figures with reference to those conducted in several of our largest cities and in one or two states. Certain data have also been secured showing the work of public employment bureaus and these, also, are presented. These two types of agencies not only afford the largest volume of service, but they are also, as we shall see, less bound up with the partisan interests of either employers or workers than is the case with certain other types of bureaus. The data are presented in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, which follow.

TABLE 1.—NUMBERS AND TYPES OF PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES IN OPERATION IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1910, IN CHICAGO IN 1912, AND IN ILLINOIS IN 1918

Type of agency—Specializing in service to	New York City[a] 1910	Chicago[b] 1912	Illinois[c] 1918 (92 per cent in Chicago)
Domestic servants	393	81[d]	79
Theatrical performers	191	41	72
Common laborers	58	59	58
Technical and clerical workers	49	18	32
Hotel and restaurant workers	38	6	5
Nurses	24	13	16
Barbers	23	3	..
General laborers	22	17	31
Farm and garden laborers	20	..	..
Seamen	13	..	..
European passage workers	7	..	..
Teachers	..	8	16
Printers	..	1	..
Architects	..	1	..
Choir singers	..	1	..
Total	838	249	309

[a] Bulletin, United States Bureau of Labor, No. 109, October, 1912. Washington, 1913, p. 102.

[b] Report of Mayor's Commission on Unemployment. Chicago, City Council, 1914, p. 48.

[c] First annual report of Illinois State Department of Labor, Division of Private Employment Agencies, year ending June 30, 1918. Springfield, the State, p. 45.

[d] Hotel and restaurant help was also furnished by the 81 "domestic servant" agencies located in Chicago. Other similar discrepancies may be noted. These, however, are not sufficiently important to destroy for our purposes the significance of the figures given.

Before discussing the figures presented in Table 1 it will be well to look also at certain types of work done by the public employment bureaus. These bureaus are not organized by occupations or trades, as Table 1 shows most of the private agencies to be; and in order to indicate the clientèle served by the public offices it is necessary to give in considerable detail the occupations handled by specific bureaus. There is, as will be pointed out more fully later, a striking similarity between the work of the two kinds of agencies.

TABLE 2.—OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH 200 OR MORE MALE WORKERS WERE PLACED BY THE SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAU, AND NUMBERS PLACED IN EACH OCCUPATION. YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1918[a]

Occupational group	Number of male workers placed
Laborers	22,753
Dishwashers	3,136
Porters	1,908
Waiters	1,288
Cooks	884
Stevedores	867
Carpenters	866
Farmhands	828
Janitors	730
Teamsters	640
Elevator men	513
Kitchen help	511
Bus boys	455
Miners	438
Fruit pickers	394
Potwashers	384
Deckhands	362
Woodchoppers	340
Freight handlers	332
Housemen	309
Machinists	308
Boys—factory and store	300
Painters	276
Flunkeys	260
Bell boys	244
Muckers	242
Choremen	221
Vegetable men	219
Couples (male half)	215
Total	40,223

[a] California Bureau of Labor Statistics, 18th Biennial Report, Sacramento, 1918, pp. 350–353.

Unfortunately, as with the records of private bureaus, the statistics kept by many public bureaus are not altogether satisfactory for our purpose; in some cases they are compiled in such a fashion as to have little significance. California, however, is one of the exceptions, and the figures shown in Table 2, secured from the San Francisco office, give an excellent idea of the work which it was doing. From some 220 occupations listed by that office, Table 2 shows those in which more than 200 men were placed during the year ending June 30, 1918. These occupations include 40,223 out of the 47,935 placed, or 83.9 per cent.

Similarly, the occupations in which 200 or more women were placed by the San Francisco public bureau during the same period are shown in Table 3. These placements represent 2,503 out of a total of 3,305 women placed, or 76 per cent.

TABLE 3.—OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH 200 OR MORE FEMALE WORKERS WERE PLACED BY THE WOMEN'S DIVISION OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAU, AND NUMBERS PLACED IN EACH OCCUPATION. YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1918[a]

Occupational group	Number of female workers placed
Chambermaids	743
Factory workers	549
Domestics	340
Day's workers	336
Waitresses	320
Couples (female half)	215
Total	2,503

[a] California Bureau of Labor Statistics, 18th Biennial Report, Sacramento, 1918, p. 354.

Figures were also secured for the Ohio public bureaus in the year before this country had become very deeply involved in the war. The occupations in which 500 or more male workers were placed by these offices during the year ending June 30, 1917, and the number of workers placed in each occupation are shown in Table 4. These placements amount to 101,682 out of a total of 108,693, or 94 per cent.

TABLE 4.—OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH 500 OR MORE MALE WORKERS WERE PLACED BY THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN OHIO, AND THE NUMBERS PLACED IN EACH OCCUPATION. YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1917[a]

Occupational group	Number of male workers placed
Laborers	59,551
Day's workers	14,239
Factory workers	5,451
Dishwashers	4,369
Handymen	3,192
Drivers, teamsters, stablemen	2,566
Farm and dairy hands	2,444
Porters	1,996
Carpenters	1,434
Bookkeepers, clerks, stenographers	951
Boys	896
Cooks	877
Machinists	728
Janitors	668
Painters	628
Firemen	617
Waiters	558
Distributors	517
Total	101,682

[a] Ohio Industrial Commission Bulletin, Columbus, 1918, Vol. IV, No. 13, p. 16.

TABLE 5.— OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH 500 OR MORE FEMALE WORKERS WERE PLACED BY THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENTS OF THE OHIO PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS, AND NUMBERS PLACED IN EACH OCCUPATION. YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1917[a]

Occupational group	Number of female workers placed
Day's workers	53,877
General houseworkers	2,271
Dishwashers	2,042
Factory workers	1,791
Bookkeepers, clerks, stenographers	1,701
Housemaids	764
Chambermaids	717
Cooks	697
Total	63,860

[a] Ohio Industrial Commission Bulletin, Columbus, 1918, Vol. IV, No. 13, p. 17.

The Ohio figures showing the placement of female workers in the more important occupational groups were also obtained for the same period. The occupations in which 500 or more women were placed represented 63,860 placements out of a total of 67,262, or 95 per cent. The details are given in Table 5.

Turning to New York, the available figures show that for the nine months ending with June, 1916, of the men placed in positions 35.1 per cent were classified as laborers, 15.6 per cent agricultural workers, 6.5 per cent hotel workers, 5.8 per cent machine hands, 4.8 per cent salesmen, 4.2 per cent porters, 3.9 per cent carpenters, 3.2 per cent machinists, and 3.1 per cent janitors. These occupations constituted the nine largest groups, and the placements represented 82 per cent of the entire number of men for whom positions were found. Among the women for whom employment was secured 36.3 per cent were classed as day's workers, 17.2 per cent domestics, 16.3 per cent factory help, and 12.6 per cent hotel workers. Thus 82 per cent of the total number placed were in these groups.[1]

Several conclusions appear obvious from a glance at Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, together with the general figures just stated for New York. In the first place it is seen that among men applicants placed by the public bureaus numerically the largest group is that of common labor. In San Francisco 22,753 out of 47,935 men; in Ohio 59,551 out of 108,693; and in New York 6,050 out of 17,231, or 50 per cent of the male workers placed in the large occupation groups, were found in the class of common labor. Moreover, some acquaintance with the work of the private fee-charging agencies indicates that the 58 labor agencies specializing in unskilled workers in Illinois (Table 1) and an equal number in New York City did a much larger gross business than even the larger number of agencies that placed domestic servants or theatrical performers.[2]

[1] New York State, Industrial Commission Report, Albany, 1916, p. 173.

[2] Illinois private agencies of these three types provided positions for the year 1917–18 as follows:

Labor agencies	274,887
Theatrical agencies	167,457
Domestic agencies	37,639

First annual report of Illinois State Department of Labor, Division of Private Employment Agencies, year ending June 30, 1918. Springfield, the State, p. 46.

Second, another important group for whom positions were secured through the public bureaus and private agencies were found in the service occupations, which included bell boys, choremen, elevator boys, housemen, janitors, porters; among women, they were domestics and day's workers. With these also may be classed the hotel and restaurant workers. In the San Francisco office over 11,000 of the 47,935 men placed were in these occupations and over half of the women placed were in service occupations. In Ohio the service group constituted 8,468 of the 108,693 placements for men and represented a very large part of the placement work with women—some 60,368 out of 67,262. As for the private fee-charging agencies, those in Illinois in 1918, classified as "general labor" agencies, handled mainly workers in the above occupations. Thus the 31 of these private "general labor" agencies, plus 79 agencies for domestic servants and five for hotel and restaurant workers, totalled 115 of the 309 private agencies operating in that state at that time. But as has been said, even their gross business was less than that of the agencies for unskilled labor which were handling large numbers of migratory workers for the western farms, northern woods, and for railroad construction gangs. But these agencies operating in the service occupations at least hold second place in importance.[1]

A third general class, including a number of miscellaneous occupations of a more skilled and professional nature, such as clerical and mercantile workers, nurses, teachers, barbers, machinists, carpenters, painters, and the like, is much smaller numerically, especially as measured by the total placements made by the public bureaus. Of private agencies in Illinois in 1918, 64 out of the 309 served clerical workers, teachers, and nurses; but the percentage in the New York City figures is lower than this; and an inconsiderable number of carpenters, machinists, and painters are the only really skilled occupations represented in the San Francisco list. The percentage in Ohio, with 951 clerical workers, 1,434 carpenters, 728 machinists, and 628 painters, is somewhat larger, but still

[1] In 1917–18, in Illinois, 167,457 positions were secured through theatrical agencies, which thus ranked second in the number of placements. However, the work of these agencies has little weight in the discussion, as the number of theatrical performers in the country at large is very small as compared with the total number in the service occupations.

small as compared with the percentage for the other less skilled occupations.

It is evident, therefore, that in the fields occupied by the two main types of employment bureaus, public and private, these bureaus play an important part in the placement of common labor; their work in the personal service field is also important; while for the skilled worker there is relatively little activity.

II. REASONS FOR USE OF ORGANIZED AGENCIES

While it is true that unskilled and common labor represent the largest groups of workers handled by these agencies, the conclusion can hardly be drawn that mere lack of skill is the only ground for asking assistance from an employment bureau. Some employers never go to an employment bureau to get their unskilled workers, and many laborers are able to get jobs without its assistance. Why the numbers placed are greatest in the unskilled occupations is a question not so easily answered. Some light was thrown upon the matter, however, by our field investigations, and by a further study of the figures. The reasons why workers have resorted to the organized agencies also indicate, conversely, why they have found the direct methods of making employment contacts inadequate.

Distance a Factor in Methods of Contact Making

The first reason of importance why organized agencies are resorted to is that a large number of persons outside the city, particularly unskilled laborers, come into it seeking work, or that firms outside the city send to the bureau for their workers.

Of 100,274 men and women placed in positions during the year ending June 30, 1918, by the five permanent offices in California, 42,337 placements were outside the towns in which the bureaus were located. The proportion of the remaining 57,937 persons placed locally, who had come into the office from out of town, is not given, although it is also important in determining the need of an employment agency. Of the 22,753 men classed as laborers who were placed by the San Francisco office, 8,174 were sent to positions outside the city.

The statistics consulted for Ohio, Massachusetts, and New York did not give information on these points; but the testimony of employment superintendents in all three states left no doubt that while, perhaps, a smaller part of their placement work was of this kind, it was still considerable.

As to private agencies, the volume of the business done by bureaus handling unskilled labor is with that floating type which drifts into our large cities when one job is finished and drifts out again into another. In 1918 in Illinois, 52 of the 58 agencies in this class confined their efforts largely to securing men for railroad construction gangs. Others supplied men for lumber camps and for contractors.

The reason why these floating, unskilled laborers, and the employers who hire them need the assistance of an employment bureau is fairly obvious. Such workers for the most part are unfamiliar with conditions in the new localities to which they have come. They are often homeless and without friends, and the rumors of jobs which pass around among them are likely to be vague and inaccurate. Likewise the employers who are in need of laborers are situated in comparatively isolated places, such as railroad construction and lumber camps. Distance and the lack of information preclude the use of direct methods.

But the factor of distance is by no means limited in its application to unskilled labor. Certain workers at the opposite pole from unskilled labor depend largely on employment bureaus. The business of the teachers' agency, for example, is chiefly with the teacher who wishes to go to another town; and with the school principal who must secure a teacher from some other place. Moreover, the jobs themselves are isolated—not within a community, where they would be more or less centralized—but over the entire country. The opportunities even for grade school teachers in a city of 25,000 people are comparatively few, rarely over 100; and for high school teachers fewer; and the recent census returns show a very large proportion of our population to be in cities of this size or smaller and in country districts. One important center to which a teacher turns for a position, and a principal or school board for teachers, has been found in organized employment agencies.

The steel worker may know when large numbers of workers are wanted in the Pittsburgh district, and that if he goes there his

chances of getting a job are good. But the teacher knows that in most cities comparatively few jobs are available—she must have definite information before she makes the journey and, in fact, she usually is obliged to have the position offered her by correspondence before she feels that it is worth while to undertake the trip to discuss it more definitely. Hence private agencies have found in these occupations an extensive and lucrative field.

The placements in the three skilled occupations in the San Francisco office (Table 2) also show the influence of out-of-town work. Of 866 carpenters, 594 were placed outside of San Francisco; of 308 machinists, 250; while as might be expected every miner was sent out of town. The same was true of the 1,222 farmhands and fruit pickers, who, while representing a lesser degree of skill still would hardly be classified as unskilled labor.

Our investigations showed, moreover, that much of the work of trade union employment bureaus was with members who either wished to go to a new locality or with members from other locals who came in looking for a job. The secretary of a local cigarmaker's union, for example, stated that "during February (1919) things were pretty bad" in his city, and that about 90 members (out of some 400) left for Detroit, Pontiac, and Tecumseh. This, he said, was because the secretary of the Detroit union had written him that there were jobs for about 100 men in Detroit. Letters from members in the other cities showed business to be pretty good in those also. Much of his employment work was with traveling members. The cigarmakers have a traveling card which they deposit at the union headquarters when they arrive in town. During June, 1919, 18 traveling members came in to this local union and eight left.

The experience of the public and private bureaus, and of employers and workers interviewed, indicated that employers who need to recruit men in the large cities to ship to more or less isolated work, and employers in one city who need to go to some other place for their workers, are not likely to have sufficient machinery of their own to make these connections and, therefore, in the majority of cases will need the organized assistance of an employment bureau. The same is true to a much greater degree of workmen who come into a town with which they are not acquainted to look

for a job, or for the workman who wishes to have some assurance of employment before deciding to move to a new place.

Widely Scattered Jobs and Few in a Single Locality

A second fact, less evident perhaps but of equal importance, is revealed by a study of the effort to place the semi-skilled group of elevator men, servants, porters, hotel and restaurant workers, and the like; namely, the wide area and separation of the places of employment and the fact that one or two persons only are usually wanted in each place. In the case of domestic service this state of affairs is very obvious. Possible positions are scattered all over a city. In a town offering employment in homes to, say, 1,000 domestic servants, an applicant for one position would in all probability have to apply to a large number of scattered employers. An applicant for a position in a department store, to cover the same possibility, would have to go only to two or three stores situated near each other in the center of the city.

Much the same situation is found among janitors, elevator men, porters, bell boys, housemen, and to only a lesser degree among "bus" boys, male cooks, waiters, and some other men. Instead of several hundreds or thousands of jobs of a particular kind being concentrated in one place, they are to be found in scattered establishments in ones and twos, or in large urban areas in tens and twenties.

The result is that, other things being equal, there is less likelihood that a man looking for a job in these positions can get information about any considerable number of openings. Almost every factory, for example, needs watchmen or elevator men. But few use more than one or two, and jobs are thus scattered all over the city. Men in such occupations are therefore forced to some organized means of getting the desired information and assistance.

Similarly, all home work jobs are of this character—that is, domestic service, day's work, and so forth. While it is true that some women get servants "through the maid of a friend," and vice versa, that servants get positions in much the same way, and while the number of such positions may be almost limitless, the worker's or employer's own resources are unlikely to suffice.

If the unemployed watchman learns of a small percentage only

of the jobs open, it follows that the employer is not very likely to have his job applied for. He must frequently turn to outside assistance, advertising or an employment bureau. Thus, when positions are widely distributed in any locality the opportunity for employers and workers to come together is lessened, and both have need of some organized agency.

While the service group of occupations demonstrates this fact more strikingly than some of the others, in both the unskilled and skilled groups the same situation obtains. Small offices, scattered over the city, each employing only one or two clerks or stenographers, supply much of the business done by private agencies in this field. For sick nursing in homes the case is very much the same as that for domestics, except that here one encounters the factor of day and night emergency service. The necessity of nurses' registries is a matter of long-time record. The reliance of handymen, carpet cleaners, odd-job men, and the like upon public and private agencies was seen everywhere.

One other point in this connection should be noted. The servant is more confined to her job than is the factory worker who can occasionally drop out for a day or so to look around without endangering her claim on her employment. Except for a stipulated day or afternoon "off," or unless she is working on an eight-hour basis, a servant is tied to her work for twenty-four hours of the day. Nor does her daily work bring her into touch with many of her fellow-workers. Nurses are similarly situated: their occupation is also a "living in" one. Working in private families they are much more likely to be confined to their task than even domestics, although the fact that almost every nurse becomes associated with some physician who wants her for certain kinds of cases, means an additional source of supply for her. And in the clerical field much the same condition obtains. The clerical worker, in contrast to the factory employe, generally stays in one position until he has another in view. He or she very often finds it difficult to get out at the time that other offices are open, and such assistance as an employment bureau can give is essential. One private clerical agency visited reported that no less than 50 per cent of its applicants were in positions when they applied, and other agencies estimated that 90 to 95 per cent of their applicants were.

Frequency in Change of Workers and Jobs

Third, it needs hardly to be pointed out that the worker who changes his job frequently and the employer who has a large labor turnover will require such assistance as will enable him to make employment contacts quickly. A man who changes his job only once a year will be less likely to be found registered in an employment bureau than one who gets a new position every month, even though part of the time the latter may be able to take care of himself. And when an employer is discharging and hiring large numbers of men daily or weekly, there is little probability that unorganized methods of making contacts will be sufficient to bring the new labor supply when needed.

Our investigations led to this conclusion also; they showed that in those groups of workers with whom employment bureaus have largely dealt, frequency of change was a factor in the decisions to ask for organized assistance, particularly among unskilled laborers, both because of the migratory habits of many of these workers and because employers themselves plan to take unskilled workers on only as emergencies demand. In hotels and restaurants the turnover is notorious. Few hotels or restaurants expect dishwashers to remain for more than a few weeks: it is the sort of a job that a man takes only when he is down in his luck, and mainly because it carries three "square" meals a day. While some of the turnover among domestic servants is due to the fact that family circumstances alter, or to the American habit of a spring and autumn change both of servants and of housekeepers, many other factors enter and the turnover is likely to persist. As for day's work for both women and men it means a new job almost daily.

In the five public employment offices in California, 23,372 out of the 100,274 placements made in 1917–18 were in positions offering work for seven days or less, while of the 22,753 laborers placed by the San Francisco office 6,747 were in such short time positions. Of the 108,693 males placed in Ohio in the year ending June 30, 1917, 13.1 per cent were in positions lasting only a few days or part of a day; and of the 67,262 women placed in jobs, 80.1 per cent were day's workers and laundresses. Our information for Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and New York shows a similar situation.

It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the frequency of change in any occupation is an important factor in the need for an organized employment bureau. This is why seasonal unemployment in a locality has so often led to steps for pushing the public employment bureau movement; for a high degree of seasonal fluctuation is clear evidence of a forced change from one job to another.

Less Able Workers and Low Grade Jobs Need Organized Assistance

Fourth, the relatively less able workmen in a trade require organized assistance. This is not to imply that all unemployed men in search of new jobs are inefficient. But in general it is true that the more able workmen suffer less from the fluctuations of industry, the less able usually being the first dismissed during periods of business depression and therefore to be in need of new jobs.[1] And as has already been indicated, we found that the very fact of frequency of change in jobs made men turn to the organized agencies rather than to trust to direct methods. With the more able worker, moreover, whether common laborer or skilled mechanic, his record not only often helps him to secure information on a new job but to get it.

An analogous situation was found among employers who had less desirable jobs to offer. The manager of a large rubber company said, "I don't have to use the public bureau except for one department," which he named. "The jobs there are heavy, the temperature is high, and it's pretty difficult to get even foreigners to take them." There were numerous instances of firms that tried to get men at a little lower than the average wage that were obliged to enlist all the outside assistance they could. Many employment bureaus had on file a quantity of calls for boys or clerks at wages just a little below the usual rate—calls, incidentally, which they neither could fill nor found desirable to try very seriously to fill. A number of bureaus also had on hand jobs calling for

[1] Beveridge gives as one important reason for this "that economic conditions determine that a certain number of men shall be dismissed, while personal considerations determine which individuals shall be selected for dismissal. . . . The fact that a man is inclined to be lazy or insubordinate or irregular may be the cause why he rather than another is unemployed. . . ."—Unemployment: A Problem of Industry, p. 134.

canvassers to sell books, brushes, novelties, and the like on a commission basis, for which it is most difficult to get applicants.

How far, from the point of view of the public interest, it is desirable to attempt, if desirable at all, to serve these workers and employers through public employment bureaus is a debatable question; but their need was nevertheless one of the reasons discovered for the existence of the organized employment agencies.

Inexperienced in Finding Work

Fifth, it was found that many workers used the organized agencies not because of inferior ability as workers but because of inferior ability as job-getters. In other words, our findings agree in part at least with the contention of the Webbs that there is a distinction to be drawn between "the faculty of finding work and the faculty of doing work."[1] There were cases discovered where, as we have pointed out, the more able workman had a certain advantage over the less efficient in learning of and securing work; but at the same time the evidence is strong that the two faculties are different. There is, in some respects, a special faculty involved in finding a job. Perhaps it is most evident in the professional fields where part of a worker's means to success is an ability to make himself sufficiently well known to attract offers of work.

This faculty is composed of two different elements: the first is the ability to secure information about a comparatively large number of openings, to be more or less closely in touch with a considerable number of potential employers, or people who may in turn have access to potential employers; and second, the ability to "sell" oneself.

As to the first, reference has already been made to some of the major factors which hinder a man most equipped to do so from keeping in touch with opportunities: the distribution of positions outside his own town; widely scattered jobs within it; frequent changes; lack of efficiency. There are, of course, many workers who in spite of such hindrances build up certain sources of information which serve them in time of need; but the reverse is also

[1] Webb, Sidney and Beatrice: Public Organisation of the Labour Market, being Part II of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, p. 169. London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1909.

true. Many, because of age and insufficient strength as well as the other hindrances indicated, cannot keep in touch with local industries or exercise the faculty of making employment contacts.

The second aspect is really part of a man's bargaining power: his ability to make a good first impression and to present his experience and potential usefulness in a favorable way. And even when workers possess this power it is often difficult to exercise it fully. The demoralizing effect on even the lowest grade workers, of repeatedly looking for work and not finding it, is well known.

It is the lack of ability to get in touch with desirable jobs and "put themselves across" to employers, that has made many workers seek the aid of organized agencies, not only public bureaus and fee-charging agencies but still others, to be discussed later.

III. CONCLUSION

To sum up at this point, our field investigations have shown five main reasons why employers and workers from time to time have found it either desirable or necessary to seek methods for making employment contacts other than those defined in this study as direct and unorganized. Or stating it another way, a study of what was actually taking place in the employment field showed five chief reasons why direct methods were inadequate. These were: first, that a large number of calls from employers for workers come from out-of-town, often from remote places; and a large number of workers come from out-of-town seeking work, making it necessary in both cases, if time is not to be wasted, for some centralization of the information on jobs and workers; second, that even in the same community, jobs of certain kinds occur in such small numbers at any one place of employment and are, therefore, so widely scattered that time and effort are saved if information on such work opportunities can be organized at central points; third, that among workers who change jobs often and employers whose labor turnover is large, again time and labor are saved if information is organized at a central point; fourth, that the relatively less able workmen find need of organized assistance because of the greater frequency of their change of jobs, and for the same reason do employers who offer the less desirable jobs; and fifth,

that many workers have little or no ability in getting information on jobs by themselves and no knowledge of how to make employment contacts.

There may be still other reasons why employers and workers turn to the organized agencies in making employment contacts; but the reasons given above are sufficient to show the inadequacy of the direct methods. If, then, the direct methods are inadequate, and modern industry requires an organized service for bringing employers and workers together to talk about jobs, the question immediately arises as to the kind needed. What types of service have already been established and what have they to suggest regarding a public employment system? These are questions to which attention is next directed.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZED EMPLOYMENT METHODS AND AGENCIES

THE need for organized employment service has been met in a variety of ways. In some cases the commercial incentive has provided the stimulus; in others the desire to increase bargaining power and other economic considerations; in still others the charitable or philanthropic impulse. But whatever the stimulus and whatever the form of the organization, or the economic or other aspects, the same basic function is performed: a worker and an employer are brought together to talk about a specific employment contract. From the standpoint of a public employment service, and from that of the private agency, these differences in types, forms, and purposes are significant. They, with the reasons why some employers and workers use certain types of agencies, and the degree of their usefulness in particular fields, have a bearing upon the need and the place of the public employment service, as well as upon its most desirable form and methods.

I. WANT ADVERTISEMENT EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The newspaper want advertisement column, while different from the employment bureau, is nevertheless one of the most common means by which people get into touch with one another. While this is an organized service, it differs from the employment bureaus in that it is concerned only with the distribution of information. For the large majority of positions offered and applied for, this method affords little or no selection, and the newspaper assumes no responsibility for seeing that the worker and employer come in contact with each other. It is the writer of the advertisement, in the great majority of cases the employer, who assumes the responsibility if anyone does; and if it fails to bring in men, instead of placing the chief blame upon the newspaper, as in a parallel case he does upon the employment bureau, he continues to insert the ad-

vertisement or writes a new one or doubles the size of the old one, expecting to gain by a better statement of his case or through the cumulative effect of the publicity.

The use of the want column was found practically universal. Only one or two employers out of over a hundred interviewed said that they never resorted to it, although a number of workers stated that they never answered the advertisements. "Somebody always gets there before you," was the reason given.

Advantages in Use of Want Columns

From the employer's standpoint the want column offers several advantages. One is the opportunity to have a large number of applicants to select from. He values this especially when he is exercising much care in making a choice. This, of course, is the reason why many employers give a post office box number instead of their names. They want to have information on a number of people without being obligated themselves. The "blind" advertisement makes this possible.

A second advantage from the use of advertisements is found by employers when labor of the kind they need is scarce or where they require so many men that they must keep the supply coming in almost all the time. They run large display advertisements such as those often seen for carpenters during the busy building season, or for salesgirls or telephone operators. Employers know that except in times of general business depression there is small probability of their getting all the workers they need; they call therefore for excessive numbers; 50 or 100 at a time.

In addition, where a company name is given, a few employers saw in this sort of advertising a certain amount of publicity and propaganda. An attractive display advertisement has a certain competitive advantage. Employers hope that workers will be attracted to their particular firm even if they are drawn away from others.

In the third place, the desire for dispatch leads some employers to use want advertisements. A manager in one city, for example, needed a paper cutter "very badly." She had one listed in her file and was sending for him; but she also advertised for fear he might be working. "I advertise comparatively little," she said; "only

when the need is urgent." A number of employers stated that they very seldom had to advertise; while one or two took pride in the fact that they advertised only when some emergency "pushed" them to do so. Want advertisements often brought applicants in a comparatively short time.

In the fourth place, the employer's bargaining power is materially strengthened by this method. It increases the number of competing applicants at his gate, who have little or no detailed information about the job to be filled, while at the same time he is obligated to no one for assistance in putting him in touch with the workers.

Disadvantages of Want Column Advertising

While there are advantages to the employer in this method, there are also serious disadvantages. One of these was the tendency of this kind of advertising to influence people to change jobs, and thus to increase the general labor turnover of the community. In Detroit, during the war, this result was recognized by the Employers' Association and an intensive anti-advertisement campaign waged. "All our members were advertising heavily," reported a member of the Association. "Labor was not coming in from the outside and we were simply increasing our own labor turnover. An organized agreement not to do any want column advertising, not to keep factory employment offices open later than 5 p. m., or on Sunday, was signed by 30 members of the Association. These included a number of our largest and more influential employers. All the more important factories were circularized, and an intensive campaign was waged against any firm using an inch or more in the Sunday papers. During the summer of 1918 in four months we cut the help-wanted advertisements in the Sunday papers about 50 per cent. One has to keep continually at the matter, however; and because we dropped it after the armistice, the practice is coming back." The worker, too, suffers from this restless turnover.

In December, 1918, the War Labor Policies Board recognized the "mischievous and harmful" effect on industry of such advertising and adopted a resolution to regulate it, through licenses.[1]

[1] The resolution adopted by the War Labor Policies Board on advertising for labor, in slightly abridged form, follows:

"Whereas, one of the most practical helps rendered by the U. S. Employment

Another disadvantage was the cost, by no means small, of such advertising. The employment manager of a large department store, for example, stated that every girl he hired cost $40 for the advertising involved; and he estimated that one of his competitors was spending fully twice that amount. A large New York hotel was spending upwards of $6,000 a year for what was practically continuous advertising for workers of various kinds. It is not unusual to find employers spending several hundred dollars a month in this way, although a surprisingly large number kept no account of such expenditures.

Again, this method usually means a waste of time for the worker. For him to answer an advertisement is often only slightly better than going from gate to gate. His search for work may be made a trifle less undirected if he has the information that a certain job is available at a certain place; but the fact that so many others have the same information greatly reduces his chance of getting the place. As one worker put it, "What's the use of answering an ad when everybody else in town is likely to be there too?" It thus very often

Service to employers during the war was the substantial elimination of a type of advertising for labor that proved exceedingly mischievous and harmful to industry . . .

"Whereas, this procedure has worked so satisfactorily that the service finds a very considerable body of opinion voicing a wish that some measure at least of this practice be continued . . . .

"Whereas, not only will a continuation of this procedure be helpful to employers as between themselves, but when an employer thus identifies himself with the policy of the National Government, his advertising by inspiring confidence will attract more and better applicants . . . .

"Resolved, that it be recommended that the U. S. Employment Service issue a license to any employer requesting it and permit such an employer to print in his advertising the phrase U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, License No. ———— upon the following conditions:

"(1) That no mention shall be made in the advertising of the amount of wages to be paid

"(2) That the methods of hiring shall not cause undue loss of time or hardship to applicants

"(3) That the advertisement be not misleading

"(4) That where the employer seeks advertising to attract applicants from distant cities and there is always the likelihood of a large surplus of applicants . . . all advertising of this sort must carry a statement that persons outside of the city where the employment is offered must report to the nearest office of the U. S. Employment Service in order to ascertain if the advertised openings still existed before going to the city where the work is offered; and furthermore, the advertiser must submit to the office of the U. S. Employment Service in his own city a full statement of all the conditions of employment for the information of applicants, such statement to be transmitted by the Employment Service to all offices in other cities where the advertisement may appear."

proves to be not only a loss of time but a method by which workers are brought into demoralizing competition with one another for jobs.

Finally, the more general abuses of newspaper advertisements which have been given much publicity in the past are continually cropping up. The "fake" advertisement, the advertisement which grossly misrepresents, or which is inserted for evil or immoral purposes, are extremely difficult to control. One stenographer said that as a matter of settled principle she never answered them. "There's too much likelihood of some trick being connected with them. I know several girls who answered a blind advertisement which had been inserted by their own firm, and they got 'fired.'" Necessity was the reason given by those who resorted to this means of securing work.

The advantages of this method were almost wholly on the side of the employer; and the value of even these is doubtful when the labor turnover and the money cost are taken into account.

II. BUREAUS OPERATED BY EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, BOARDS OF TRADE, AND THE LIKE

Organized employment work is also carried on by a variety of employment bureaus. Among these are the bureaus operated by employers' associations, boards of trade, and similar organizations. Some of them are run, chiefly if not exclusively, in the interests of the employer; others on a less partisan basis. Perhaps the most notable case of the former is to be found in the bureaus operated by the National Metal Trade Association. The Hartford office called itself "The Hartford Open Shop Metal Trades Exchange," and its printed matter made it clear that these exchanges were working against organized labor. Their interpretation of the "open shop" was one in which the union would have very little influence. In fact, the manager of one of these employment bureaus frankly said: "Of course we are anti-union, although I don't refuse to send out union men unless they are agitators like Gompers or William B. Wilson. Our firms hire at the gate if they want to, but they are expected to let us know whom they take on, and if we have any information on the man which is unfavorable we let them know right away."

The bureaus of this organization were found in most of the larger manufacturing centers; and they usually had as their aim the complete centralization of information about all the workers in their trade as a guard against the employment of men known to be "union agitators." Actually this purpose was seldom attained, the secretary of one of their bureaus admitted. "About five years ago I visited most of them," he said, "and went over their systems pretty thoroughly. None of them was doing what it claimed, except a bureau in one town where there was a comparatively small number of workers. Their lists were never complete. We attempted to carry out the plan here, keeping a card for every worker employed here in town by our members; but when we had accumulated about 50,000 cards we dropped the plan as being a practical impossibility."

While these bureaus represent, as has been indicated, an extreme of this type of the organization run on behalf of employers, the purpose of controlling the employment contact was apparent in only a lesser degree in other bureaus. The secretary of one employers' association remarked: "Our work frankly started as an anti-union and blacklisting proposition, but we've got beyond that now and think of it as a service function. We never ask a man whether he carries a card or not, although our superintendent has been on the job for a long time and knows a good many of the men who are really undesirable. Of course we are here primarily to serve employers and we're interested in the workers' qualifications rather than in their need of employment. We never send out to a job a man who is already working, no matter what his reason for change. If he quits his job cold all right; but we won't allow a fellow to hang on to one job while he's looking for another."

Still other employers' bureaus were seen to have even less partisan bias and to approach their task from a standpoint of mutual service. In this class were found the bureaus set up by chambers of commerce and merchants' associations to assist returning soldiers and sailors. A number of them continued long after the funds of the United States Employment Service were exhausted. Of the chambers operating bureaus, only those of the old type which were interested chiefly in the business side of their city and in the main the employer's point of view on industrial questions

are included in the group described here. Bureaus run by chambers having a broader civic purpose are classified elsewhere.[1]

In general it was found that the reason why employers operate bureaus is to get what benefit they can from keeping control of the means through which contacts are made, just as when they advertise or engage workers at the gate, and not to let the advantage go to someone else. In addition, they felt that bureaus maintained by employers' associations fostered their interests—not only the getting of workers, but other important related interests.

III. TRADE UNION BUREAUS

With much the same purpose as the employers' associations, trade unions have set up and are operating bureaus or exchanges; they, too, wish to exercise control over the making of employment contacts. In addition to keeping its own members employed, the trade union bureau may be of service in placing men in plants where they can help the cause of unionism.

As a matter of fact, only a few trade unions operate organized employment bureaus in the accepted sense.[2] The constitutions of but a few international unions provide for the establishment of such bureaus and even in these cases activities of the local unions are not greatly increased. Nevertheless, every union office and every union secretary is a center of information about jobs. As one observer put it, "the trade unionist thinks it only natural that his business agent should secure work for him when he is unemployed. This he considers one of the principal benefits of the union." Whether or not a union maintains something which it specifically terms an employment bureau, one of the purposes of the business agent of the union is to assist workers to secure employment; and the activities growing out of this purpose, which are carried on in most union offices, are clearly to be classified among the organized methods of making employment contacts.

When the business agent, in the course of his other work, hears

[1] Such bureaus would seem to belong in group V, see page 80, which includes those maintained by social, civic, and philanthropic organizations.

[2] The Chicago Employment Exchange of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a very highly organized union bureau. It is exceptional, however, rather than typical of the employment work of the unions.

of a job he makes a note of it or simply keeps it in mind. When an employer calls him up, he jots down the requirement on a slip of paper which he throws away as soon as the position is filled. Sometimes orders from employers are kept in a large book and crossed off when a man has been secured for the job. Some local unions likewise have their out-of-work lists—where each man reporting himself as unemployed is registered, and jobs are given out in the order that men are listed.

A small number of local unions have men who do nothing but employment work, as in Cleveland, where a number of the organizations housed in the Central Labor headquarters co-operated in using one man as office secretary and placement secretary. Even here, however, no records were kept and work was done largely through personal contacts and by word of mouth. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the union member, the placement work of the union secretary is likely to be satisfactory.

One reason is that the employment contact a member makes at union headquarters is natural, easy, and in the line of least resistance. The office is a loafing place out of hours for men out of work. They go there to pay their dues. Some unions, as the plumbers', require that their members notify the secretary whenever they quit one job and go to another, and give the address. Every union man knows his secretary much as he does a friend or neighbor; drops in to pass the time of day when he is in the vicinity, speaks about his job, about some other, or learns where he can probably find a new or better one himself; in short, covers the range of subjects pertaining to jobs, a matter of strong mutual interest.

Again, he usually gets his job without bargaining for it. As one union secretary put it, "I tell the men what jobs there are and they can take their pick. Of course, if I'm pretty sure a man can't handle a particular job I tell him so and can generally convince him; but otherwise he's welcome to what information I've got."

Moreover, this information usually covers more matters of interest to him than are secured in an employment bureau where he is not on intimate terms with the agent. The union secretary knows the personality of the foreman and about working conditions in the place in question.

In connection with this placement work the question of discrimination by the union official often arises. While the union secretary is thoroughly familiar with both man and job, and can usually make a good quick selection, each worker very naturally desires to "get a line on" everything that is open. He is prone to accuse the secretary of favoritism if he does not secure a job and someone else does. This is avoided in the priority out-of-work list kept by some locals. Here men are notified in regular order, with the qualification that the secretary often resorts to a certain amount of "shirt sleeve" diplomacy to keep men from going to jobs for which they are unfitted.

Still other reasons why the worker uses his union are that while the service is not charitable he pays no fee, and the number of jobs about which the union secures information is often considerable. The by-laws of the Cleveland Machinists' Association require men to notify the office about vacancies of which they learn; and at their weekly meetings reports on vacancies and business conditions are part of the order of business. As the secretary said, "With 4,000 members on the lookout for the 25 or 30 who are out of work, it isn't long before they land something."

In fully organized trades or shops the union office is the chief avenue to employment. In such cases the bargaining and settling of wage rates for the most part are done in bulk, so to speak; and the contact making through the union, whether or not required in the agreement, is of distinct advantage to the worker.

It should be added that in the main union members seldom use any organized means of assistance but their own. Not that all union men get all their jobs through their own officials. As a matter of fact, the percentage of employment so secured is comparatively small; for owing to members' acquaintance in the trade and their other resources, the majority, most union secretaries admit, get their own jobs. But they depend chiefly on their own efforts and the union, and hence comparatively few apply to the public bureaus, the private agencies, or to any other organized employment service.

IV. BUREAUS OPERATED BY FRATERNAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Still another type of contact-making is that accomplished through certain organizations in which both employers and workers have some interest outside the service itself. Examples of such are employment bureaus of frateral organizations; of professional societies, such as those of the chemists and the engineers; agencies operated by state teachers' associations; and perhaps college appointment bureaus. In all of these employers as well as employes have to a greater or less degree a personal or professional interest in the general purpose of the organization which operates the employment bureau. A fraternal society or a professional association contains members, some of whom are employers, some employes, and who at the same time have other interests in the organization that are identical. The case of college appointment bureaus is not so clear. In classifying them here the college is thought of as including alumni as well as students who support the bureau, and alumni who are employers and students who are applicants. In some cases, as in that of the Harvard Alumni Association in Boston, which runs an employment bureau to fill business positions and places not only the new crop of graduates each year but the older alumni themselves, the interest of alumni in both their employment organization and the whole college program is apparent.[1]

The actual number of organized bureaus in this group is not large. Most of the larger fraternal orders, such as the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Masons, run employment bureaus; but the total of their business is small. Employment contacts made through a lodge have an advantage over those made through trade unions in that both employers and employes meet more or less on the same footing. Statements of some of the lodge officials

[1] Grounds might be advanced also for putting some of the bureaus of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations in this category. Many employers are members of these associations, and in many of the Young Men's Christian Associations an applicant must either be a member of the association or agree to become one after he gets a job. Since, however, the majority of employer patrons and employe applicants who use the Young Men's Christian Association bureaus are apt to be concerned mainly or only with the employment assistance given them rather than with the general purposes of the organization, these bureaus would seem to be better classified in a later group.

indicate this. For example: "The Odd Fellows of Indiana," wrote one official, "make it a rule that when a brother is in need of employment they find a position for him if possible, but there is no organized purpose to look after this feature of the work. It just happens and no record is maintained thereon." Again, from another, "In reply to your query as to how much employment work has been done for its members, I can only say that the Odd Fellows of this state have been making it a practice when opportunity affords of hiring Odd Fellows first in preference to others."

When there is an organized bureau the expectation that the service would be quite personal and the contact between the employer and the applicant on a satisfactory basis seems to be fulfilled. At one fairly large Masonic lodge the placement secretary was not only helping applicants to get jobs, but was giving them assistance in other ways. For one man who needed medical help he agreed to try to raise the necessary funds; for another, although to the writer he did not look like a very promising candidate for work, the secretary was doing his best to find something and expected to continue the effort. In another city several workers named half a dozen business offices in which they said, "if you come from the Masonic bureau you get a job if there's one open."

Chemists and engineers were the only two large professional societies maintaining formal employment bureaus. The former operated a bureau which registered anyone interested in chemistry —no matter what his experience—and tried to put him in a job which would develop his experience and stimulate his interest. The latter confined itself to the wants of experienced engineers although they did not have to be members of the organization.

Since these organizations meet less frequently than do fraternal lodges, the making of personal contacts through them is less easy.

Another professional group in whose behalf organized employment work has been carried on in recent years is that of social workers. For a number of years a fee-charging employment service was operated in New York City by the National Social Workers' Exchange (now the American Association of Social Workers) with a nominal degree of success. A few years ago, however, the basis of organization was changed, a membership fee was instituted to provide the main support of the employment

bureau; and the organization which thus comprises both employers and employes set out to stimulate the development of professional standards in the social work field.

The advantages of employment bureaus of this kind are, as already suggested, that both employer and applicant are members of an organization which both are supporting, and which besides operating an employment bureau is trying to develop professional standards and technique, or is carrying on some other work of interest to both, thus making the employment contact between bureau and applicant and bureau and employer much more satisfactory to all concerned. Part of the reason for the satisfaction may be that the placement secretary himself is a member of the organization, trained in the profession, and having a wide acquaintance among its members, and that employment contacts as well as all others effected through the organization are thus made on a more or less personal basis.

An obvious limitation of both the lodge and professional bureau is that each serves mainly its own membership. This is not a serious handicap in the professional bureaus where engineers or chemists or social workers look only for jobs in their own fields and where the societies embrace a very large part of the qualified workers.

Thus far relatively little organized employment work is done by these bureaus, the reasons for which are also obvious. In the first place professional workers and many lodge members are in less need of organized assistance than is almost any other group. Their own personal resources are greater, information on positions more varied. And, second, they are able to make many contacts through the society without the aid of organized employment assistance.

Bureaus Operated Jointly by Employers and Workers

Finally, before leaving this group, consideration should be given to those employment bureaus operated jointly by employers and unions, or even by unions in those trades where employers on the one hand and workers on the other, both being organized, have come to some sort of recognized agreement—agreements which are something more than a temporary truce. To fall within this

classification there must be a recognition on both sides that they have a common interest in the industry itself and that by co-operating with one another they can accomplish something in production, in reducing unemployment, or in another direction, which neither could accomplish singly, and which in its final result will be of mutual advantage.

Probably nowhere in the United States is there a precise illustration of this kind of situation. Even the most long standing of co-operative relationships may break down when one side or the other feels it is in a position of tactical advantage, as a number of recent strikes in trades with long histories of successful collective agreements has shown. We do find, however, examples of such a relation in embryo in the photo-engraving trade, and in the printing and clothing industries in several of our cities; and where found its influence on the work of the employment bureau is noticeable.

In the course of our investigation the secretary of one building trades employers' association remarked: "Of course when we need men we go to the business agent of the union. He's around every few days anyway. He knows the men well and he knows us so that his judgment is likely to be pretty good. Or if we don't get hold of him we go to the central office. The very fact that a man carries a union card is evidence of a certain amount of ability and as a rule the union won't let him put over anything on us." The Federated Trades Council of the clothing trades in Chicago agrees "as part of its contract with employers to furnish all workers. The union operates the office, and employers agree to give it two days to fill the job—after which they are at liberty to hire at the gate." When one realizes the handicap under which most bureaus operate simply because employers will not wait even that long, the advantage of this mutual relationship is apparent.

A number of employers were found who were strong believers in the organization of labor and had hope in its solving some of the acute problems of industrial relations. In such cases as these we find the embryo of, or approach to, a situation analogous to that in the professional associations, where both employers and workers uniting on other mutual interests also maintain an employment service. That is to say, where trade unions and em-

ployers have come together in a co-operative spirit to promote better industrial relations, the centralization of employment appears along with increased efficiency in production, participation of workers in certain phases of management, and the like, as part of the mutual objectives to be striven for.

In the electrical trades a National Council composed of representatives of the employers' organization and the trade union has been founded for the purpose of planning for the efficient organization of their industry; and the first concrete step to be tried is the centralization of employment work in union employment bureaus.

A somewhat similar program which includes support of the unemployed by the unions and employers jointly has been adopted in the men's clothing industry in Chicago. The employers have agreed to use exclusively the employment bureau organized by the union.

An immediate difficulty which confronts the attempt to reduce unemployment in this way is that the organization of a single industry by itself, while it may secure the centralization of employment work within that industry, affords little opportunity for dovetailing its seasons with seasons of others, as would a general employment office established in a region and functioning for several or many industries. Indeed, here is where the need of the public bureaus and the opportunity for them to be especially useful come to the front again; it is one of their functions to discover the possibilities of dovetailing and to promote co-operation between industries. Experience has shown that if the difficulty of seasonal work is to be eliminated and there is to be co-operation among those industries that cause it, the solution requires more than the unorganized and informal dovetailing of today, a farmhand in the winter drifting into town or to the woods for work, and the like; it must be based on at least two things. First, a study of the industries which because of their seasons and the character of their work make dovetailing most feasible; and, second, conscious co-operation through satisfactory machinery between the industries to effect the shift.[1]

[1] In Cleveland a clothing factory developed by itself a policy of dovetailing its own workers in the off season. "Our high seasons are in June and December with gradual rise and fall in the other months," runs a recent description by a member

Although the experience with employment bureaus maintained by an industry itself is thus far quite limited, it nevertheless offers significant suggestions regarding employment bureau work. In the first place, by the very nature of the case, a certain amount of the antagonism or difference of interest which exists between employer and employe is eliminated because of the common interest which all have in the larger objectives for which the organization stands.

And in the second place, the interest in these larger objectives, the raising of professional standards, the development of fraternal or social life, the increase of production, or even service to the community, as the case may be, leads to the sort of mutual relationship which must be created if the centralization of employment and the reduction of unemployment are ever to be practically possible. For without a common recognition of the desirability of solving the larger problems, and of setting up machinery, through which each can do his part, by means of employment bureau committees, advisory councils or the like, such as have been suggested and will be discussed later,[1] employers and workers are likely to be influenced by partisan motives; in self-defense if for no other reason, they will fall back upon whatever instrument is available for getting workers or jobs. It would seem, moreover, as if recognition of the desirability of centralizing employment will hardly come until there has been a mutual recognition of the need to solve other important problems of industry, the removal of the causes of unemployment, increasing of the efficiency of both management and labor, questions of wages and hours, and the like.

of the firm. "Actually there are about forty-eight weeks of work for our normal force. Some of the workers like to lay off for a month and a half and we arrange to take them back when things pick up. Then the retail store trade is at its height just after our manufacturing season is closed and they need quite a lot of extra people for pressing, shop alteration work, etc.—exactly the thing for which our factory people are trained. Our employment manager gets in touch with the retail stores, asks them if they cannot use specific workers for this or that job, then goes to the worker with the offer. Most of them are glad to do the work, and we have an agreement with them and with the retail store people that they will come back when we need them. We took the initiative in this ourselves but the retail people are very happy about it now. We also give our workers a week's vacation which they take in the slack season." With the interest and co-operation of employers and workers in different industries a practical method of exchanging workers and thus dovetailing seasonal work seems altogether possible.

[1] See pages 189 and 213.

V. BUREAUS MAINTAINED BY PHILANTHROPIC AND SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

The fifth type of agency embraces those organized and maintained by philanthropic societies, churches, settlements, immigrant societies, prison associations, day nurseries, and other welfare and social work associations. The older bureaus of this kind were started by the organizations which were caring for families and individuals in distress. One of the important causes of such distress was found to be unemployment; and the societies decided that the constructive way to help families and individuals suffering under this disability was not only to give them food, clothing, fuel, and other material relief temporarily, but also to assist the breadwinner in the family to obtain employment. They would then, by helping the family to help itself, start it on its way toward normal living again. Indeed workers in these organizations, who in times of business depression were experiencing great difficulty in finding work for the unemployed, felt at an early stage the necessity of tackling the problem of unemployment itself, and through the facts revealed by them and discussions upon the facts the interest of the public was first aroused.

As early as 1870 a philanthropic agency in Chicago opened an employment bureau,[1] and in 1880 the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York City definitely recommended that relief for the unemployed should be supplied by means of an employment agency "which shall aid in securing work for those who need it with the least expense or friction." Although the suggestion did not bear fruit in that organization until seventeen years later, within five years the United Hebrew Charities had such a bureau in actual operation in New York. Before the end of the century all the large social work organizations dealing with families in New York had started something in the way of organized employment agencies as part of their regular programs, and the same was true of the similar organizations in Boston, Cleveland, and a number of other large centers.

The histories of these bureaus have had much in common. For

[1] Conner, J. E.: Free Public Employment Offices in the United States, p. 1. United States Bureau of Labor Bulletin, No. 68, Washington, 1907.

the most part, the reports of the first few years contain enthusiastic accounts of the number of men placed and of the economic value of the work of the bureau. Gradually the enthusiasm decreases, although the actual amount of business does not; and finally the employment bureau is discontinued. By 1904 all the bureaus maintained by the charitable organizations in New York had been abolished; and in more recent years the employment work done by them has been of a quite specialized nature, such as finding positions for the crippled, handicapped, and so forth, pursued as a part of their regular case work.

For this there appear to be several general reasons: first, the character of the work done in the bureaus was far from satisfactory. Low-grade applicants and poor jobs comprised the main part of the business. To the people conducting the bureaus this was discouraging. Second, doubt was felt concerning the extent to which repeatedly placing the same men in jobs was helping to solve their own or the general employment problem. Third, some organizations found that the unfavorable criticism which came from sending inefficient workers to fill jobs severely handicapped the society's other work. Fourth, a feeling was growing up that the placement function belonged primarily to the state. The last was due in part to the belief that society as a whole has a stake in the problem of unemployment and the unemployed, and that the public should therefore shoulder the cost of employment bureau work. This would take it out of the realm of charity, an advantage seen by many.

Characteristics of the Philanthropic Bureaus

In looking over the work of the philanthropic bureaus as a whole, several characteristics were noted. First, while it was recognized that the employer might benefit from having some place to go for workers, these bureaus labored almost entirely in the interests of the worker. This meant that in general they were active chiefly during periods of depression and of unemployment, and that they did very little during times of labor shortage.

Second, most of these agencies served workers who were handicapped in securing positions. There were two main groups of these—those against whom as workers in their plants employers

held some prejudice or regarding whose abilities they entertained doubts, as, for example, ex-convicts, aged persons, the physically handicapped, or Negroes; and those who were unskilled in the methods of securing jobs. Juniors are perhaps the best example of the latter. In many instances both prejudice and doubts on the part of employers were present; and workers were inexperienced in the methods of getting a job.

Unfortunately in a large proportion of cases, the first reaction of employers to a blind person or a cripple seeking employment is unfavorable. Because there are many jobs which they cannot fill, and since a person so handicapped is unusual in industry, employers are likely to turn them down without sufficient consideration. Similarly, factories and commercial plants in some parts of the country are not open to Negroes or to immigrant workers. In these cases the need of the worker called for much more effort than merely to bring him into touch with an employer. The bureaus of philanthropic societies saw that the attitude of the employer should be changed to lead him to regard the working abilities of these applicants in a more favorable light; to give them, in short, the consideration due them as workers regardless of other characteristics. The bureaus rendered an educational service by demonstrating to employers that the particular group of applicants represented were qualified to perform certain tasks which industry hitherto had denied them.

In the same way, special assistance was necessary to assure workers with little or no skill or experience in securing jobs an equal chance with others. Equality in grasping opportunities in these cases is not obtained, as someone has pointed out in another connection, by treating unequals equally, but by treating unequals unequally; by aiding the inexperienced in making their employment contact and in bargaining for the work in question. The philanthropic bureaus thus went much farther than the ordinary employment office in finding the work that the applicant could do and in securing for him the opportunity to do it.[1]

[1] The emphasis placed upon this service aimed to supply something missing in the worker's ability to get a job or to remove doubts and prejudice, is clearly suggested in the type of organizations doing employment work in New York in 1916 and the characteristics of their applicants. Excluding fraternal organizations and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, a directory of

In the third place, as their names and supporting organizations indicate, these bureaus do not receive maintenance from fees nor from public taxation. This fact limits the extension of their service. Whether sympathetic or indifferent toward charitable organizations or the employment bureaus maintained by them, the vast majority of able-bodied workers are nevertheless unwilling to accept assistance from an agency to which they have made no contribution, either in their union dues, in fees, taxes, or in other ways. Hence any large part of the employment service of the country is not likely to be performed by philanthropic bureaus.

VI. FEE-CHARGING EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

A sixth important group of organized agencies making employment contacts between employers and workers is represented by the commercial or fee-charging bureaus. Those best known place professional workers, especially teachers; clerical and office workers; workers in domestic service; and casual and unskilled labor. The last named applicants so outnumber the others that fee-charging agencies are usually thought of as agencies for common labor.

Aside from the fee, these private bureaus differ from the other types of organized bureaus in that for the most part they are operated neither by employer nor worker nor specially for either. They are not linked up with the worker's other industrial interests by being operated by his trade union, nor with other interests of the employer by being a part of an employers' organization. Nor are there the advantages which come when employers and workers are jointly interested in the organization which runs the bureau. Further, the fee-charging agencies are rarely called upon to further the interests of the handicapped and other workers whose interests are fostered by philanthropic societies. In short, these agencies

non-commercial employment agencies shows 44 different philanthropic or non-commercial employment bureaus. Of these, 27 dealt mainly with immigrants, juniors, Jewish workers, ex-convicts, Negroes, delinquent girls, and physically handicapped, the numbers in each group ranging in the order named. The remaining 17 were less easily classified. Seven were being operated by churches or parish houses. One of these was specializing in work for women with infant children, whose handicap in going out themselves and looking for jobs was obvious. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Municipal Lodging House were doing employment work for their cases. The remaining bureaus were being operated by a variety of organizations, settlements, missions, a vocational committee, and the like.

have been called into existence because employers and workers are in need of organized employment assistance and are willing to pay for it, and thus far no other sufficient means exists.

While in general these bureaus are not operated specifically by or for trade unions or employers' associations, some were found definitely lending themselves to the employers' purposes. The manager of one private agency, for example, said that he "used to do a good deal of confidential business for employers, getting in touch with men whom they did not want to let know they were looking up, and finding out how much the men asked for their services." Other agencies were doing business so exclusively for certain companies as almost to have become their employment departments.

On the other hand, there were agencies whose relations with employers were cordial and intimate as a result merely of the superior methods developed by the bureau in serving its clientèle. One secretary of a clerical bureau "had been in the business for ten years." He had handled most of the clerical jobs in the city at one time or another, was well acquainted with many of the employers, and familiar enough with what they wanted to save the time otherwise required to tell about each job. Another agency was in the center of the New York financial district, and "had a select clientèle of employers to whom it was continually sending men," one of its officers stated. The development of a service or relationship of this kind is most often to be found among the higher class of clerical and technical bureaus; and of these, employers often spoke very highly.

Attitude of Employers and Workers

Toward private agencies as a class, which, as already pointed out, meant as a rule the common labor agency, employers are either indifferent or suspicious; while workers both organized and unorganized are definitely hostile. Very few employers interviewed regarded private agencies as anything but a last resort for getting workmen. Their satisfactory experience had been practically always with the higher class technical bureaus. A number expressed the opinion that it "was pretty hard on a man to have to pay a big fee for his job; and," it was often added, "it comes out of us in

the long run anyway. Besides, it gives him a dissatisfied feeling to start with."

In a canvass which we made during this study of the numerous resolutions which were passed by employers' associations and chambers of commerce regarding the United States Employment Service in 1919, we found only two suggested that private agencies might be a possible substitute for the public bureau.

Organized labor has long been opposed to the private bureaus, charging that they are used as strike-breaking agencies, that they favor the employer, and that their sole purpose is to exploit the worker. At the American Federation of Labor convention held in 1919, the Committee on Education reported that the ultimate solution of the private employment agency problem was to be found in a "public employment system with properly co-ordinated federal, state and local agencies."[1]

In 1918 the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada favored abolishing all private agencies;[2] while the International Labor Conference instituted by the League of Nations recommended that measures be taken to prohibit the establishment of fee-charging agencies and that existing agencies should be abolished as soon as possible.[3]

Individual workers not members of unions, when interviewed, also invariably expressed distrust of the private agencies and their methods, and used them only when it became a matter of vital necessity.[4]

[1] Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Washington, 1919, p. 428.

[2] The *Labour Gazette*, Ottawa, October, 1918, p. 848.

[3] Draft Conventions and Recommendations, Washington, D. C., 1919, p. 15.

[4] Because of abuses, either actual or feared, government license and regulation of one sort or another have been generally deemed necessary. In some instances prohibitive legislation has been enacted, but as a rule regulation of private agencies by public authorities has become the accepted policy; and legislation providing for regulation has been passed by two-thirds of the states. It has taken, on the whole, four different forms:

(1) the licensing and bonding of agencies
(2) requirements as to business methods to be used
(3) prohibition of specific abuses
(4) enforcement of prescribed methods through inspection and the exacting of penalties.

These provisions are incorporated in the more complete laws on the subject and enforced by state or local officials. In some of the larger cities licensing and reg-

The attitude of the public toward fee-charging agencies is indicated by its attempt to abolish them by legislation. Efforts in this direction have been due in the main to opposition to the methods employed by such agencies, such as the requirement of fees from workers and the evident failure of regulation to restrict abuses.

In 1914 the State of Washington made unlawful the receiving of a fee by an employment agent. This law, however, was later declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.[1] In 1915 Idaho provided by less sweeping legislation that no private agencies should be permitted to carry on work except those charging no compensation or conducted by charitable organizations or for professional employment.[2] In New York the State Reconstruction Commission, in 1919, favored the development of the State Public Employment Bureau with an ultimate state monopoly in the employment field. Exception, however, was recommended in favor of union agencies and private offices of a personal and professional character.[3]

In some southern states, mainly to restrict the movement of emigrant Negro labor, legislation hostile to private agencies sending workers out of the state has been passed. Such legislation amounts practically to the prohibition of the agencies through the exacting of heavy license fees. In Alabama at the time of our investigations a license tax amounting to $2,500 was required, and an additional amount up to 50 per cent of this sum might be levied in each county

ulation of private agencies are attempted through local ordinances even where there is also provision for regulation by the state. The supervision of these agencies in several instances has been placed directly in the hands of public employment bureau officials, as in Cleveland and Birmingham, Alabama, where the local superintendent of the public office is made responsible. This particular means of enforcement gives the public office in any locality a distinct competitive advantage over private agencies and is favored by many for this reason. Its advocates also claim that the superintendent of the public office is best fitted to act as inspector because of his general knowledge of employment conditions.

As might be expected, much variation in the effectiveness of regulation of private agencies prevails in the different states, depending on the strictness of such regulation and the methods of enforcement.

[1] Initiative measure No. 8, adopted November 3, 1914. See Adams vs. Tanner, No. 273, October Term United States Supreme Court, 1916. Decision given June 11, 1917, by a 5 to 4 vote.

[2] Laws of Idaho, 1915, C169.

[3] Report of Governor Smith's Reconstruction Commission on a Permanent Unemployment Program. Albany, June, 1919, p. 16.

in the state in which the private agency operated. A bond of $5,000 was required in each county.

A less restrictive measure, but one which tends nevertheless to limit the work of private agencies, is found in the Wisconsin state law providing that the Industrial Commission shall issue no licenses to private agents if it finds that the needs of a community are sufficiently served by existing agencies; and the burden of proof is put on the employment agency seeking the license. During a four-year period ending in 1917, the number of private agencies steadily decreased.[1] In 1919 it was further decided by legislative enactment[2] that the Industrial Commission may refuse a license if the public employment agency in a community is sufficient to supply its needs.[3]

In Canada private employment agencies are prohibited by law in five provinces, and their number closely restricted in one other province. And according to a memorandum drawn up in 1919 between officials of the Dominion employment service and the different provinces coming under the terms of the act establishing the employment service, no new provincial licenses may be issued to fee-charging agencies or existing licenses transferred.

Insistent demands have been made in recent years, particularly by partisans of public bureaus, for the complete abolition of private agencies together with a practical monopoly of organized placement work by state and federal authorities. The attack has centered chiefly upon the common labor agencies which deal with the largest number of workers.

The abuses inherent in the practices of these agencies have been amply demonstrated even under strict regulation. Yet until public bureaus are in a position to take over their work by an extension of

[1] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Report on Allied Functions, year ending June 30, 1918, p. 31.

[2] Laws of Wisconsin, 1919, C178.

[3] Such legislation thus definitely sanctions the competitive status of public bureaus in the employment field and is in line with the German Imperial law passed in 1910 which provided that licenses should be refused to private fee-charging agencies where there was no absolute need for them; and that further, the need did not exist where a public exchange was working normally in the locality. League of Nations Report on Unemployment. Prepared by the Organizing Committee for the International Labour Conference, Washington, D. C., 1919. London, Harrison and Sons, 1919, p. 129.

service, it is hardly practicable to consider their abolishment, especially in the largest centers.

VII. THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

Finally, organized employment work is also carried on by governmental agencies, national, state, or municipal, either separately or in combination. These bureaus are supported by public funds and the bureau workers are public officials.

In some respects the public exchanges are similar to the private fee-charging agencies. In general, neither is controlled by one side, employer or worker (to the extent at least that control is exercised over employers' or union bureaus); nor jointly by the two. And because of this fact neither provides the assistance in bargaining power which usually inheres in employers' bureaus for employers or in union bureaus for workers. Both are, moreover, open to all employers and all workmen, and in the main, open to all employers on equal terms and to all workers on equal terms. But while these and other similarities in practice exist, there are three important differences between the public and the fee-charging bureaus which have influenced the attitude of both worker and employer toward them: first, the service of the public bureau is free; second, public bureaus, although aimed to be non-partisan, unless properly organized may be controlled in the interests of either employers or workers; and third, if controlled by one side or the other, the government organization can be used for partisan purposes much more effectively than can the small private organization.

The fact that the public bureau offers free service, that is, a service without fees but paid for by his taxes, influences materially the attitude of the worker toward using it. To apply there is much more in "the line of least resistance" than to go to an agency which may require a registration fee before it gives any service at all, and which will certainly deduct a large portion of the first wage payment for whatever service it renders. Our investigations showed that most workers used private agencies only when other sources had failed.

To a combination of the second and third points can be ascribed much of the opposition of employers to the public bureau, particu-

larly his opposition to the continuance of the United States Employment Service. Employers have been the main dependence of the private agencies. It was a great change in the situation, therefore, as far as employers were concerned, to find—as they thought, whether rightly or wrongly—that the Service, although organized on a national scale and with the authority of the federal government behind it, showed more sympathy than did the commercial bureaus for the interests of the workers, particularly union workers. Some employers even thought they saw a bias in favor of the workers; and they protested against the continuance of the Service.

Of 60 employers' associations in different parts of the country who replied to an inquiry on the subject made in this study early in 1920, 37 had put themselves on record against the United States Employment Service, two had passed resolutions favorable to it, and 21 had taken no action. The accusation of partisanship was the most frequent charge against the Service. The Pittsburgh Employers' Association contended that "the United States Employment Service is the most effective promoter of unionism in the United States. . . . From many sections of the country come reports that its own employes are largely members of unions or union leaders who use power in offices to promote universal unionization making it almost imperative that all workers heretofore refusing to join unions abandon their principles and take out union cards." The sub-committee on employment relations of the National Association of Manufacturers said that "in many instances the service was freely used as an instrument for recruiting the ranks of organized labor"; while the League for Industrial Rights claimed that among employers "there is a strong objection to government operation because it [the United States Employment Service] was considered to amount to nothing more than a union agency."

While the resolutions which were passed by employers' associations soon after the armistice were undoubtedly part of a propaganda being carried on against the United States Employment Service as it was operated in 1918 and the early part of 1919 rather than against public employment bureaus as such, many employers were found who were opposed to public bureaus however organized and administered.

The fact that trade unions passed resolutions commending the Service with the same unanimity that employers condemned it, gave a certain amount of support to the contention of the employers regarding union control. All but three of the labor organizations from which replies were received in answer to our inquiry had gone on record as favoring the United States Employment Service; and the American Federation of Labor in its 1919 convention adopted by a large majority a resolution indorsing "the Nolan Bill for the continuation of the United States Employment Service" and providing further that "pending further legislation looking to the continuation of this valuable service, it is urged that immediate relief be accorded by means of a deficiency appropriation and such other legislation as will insure the continuance of the United States Employment Service."

The attitude of the unions, however, was not entirely due to a desire to gain control. For years they had been bitter opponents of the private agencies because of abuses charged against the latter. Some, as has been indicated, are little more than recruiting services for employers; the old accusations of split fees and of sending men to undesirable places of employment, all point to the fact that private bureaus have often found it more profitable to work in the interests of the employer than of the worker. In addition, even if workers could not obtain ascendency in the administration of the public bureaus, they believed that they gained something in the establishment of bureaus controlled by neither side. This view is well expressed in the statement of a business agent of the machinists. "As long as we aren't thoroughly organized and can't control the employment process (and that's the situation in this place), we are strongly in favor of a public bureau. Employers are using every means they can to keep everything pertaining to employment in their own hands and if a neutral organization can take part of that control away from them we consider it a point gained."

It is not surprising then that when a national employment system was initiated, serving as it did large numbers of employers and workers, efforts were made by both sides to dominate and utilize it for their advantage. The history of the United States Employment Service affords plenty of illustrations of these efforts; and the assurance of a strictly neutral attitude becomes one of the most

serious problems which confronts any employment service. For it is obvious that not only do the disadvantages to the public of a partisan service offset whatever advantages might accrue to either side or to the bureaus themselves, but also that impartiality is the only principle upon which the government can conduct a service of this kind.

Thus the danger that a public service would be controlled for partisan purposes is one of the reasons why some employers have opposed public exchanges, and the fact that the danger is more or less real constitutes a weakness in the case for public bureaus. That the weakness is not necessarily inherent, however, is shown by the history of a number of the state employment systems, particularly those of Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York, where among large numbers of employers interviewed complaint of this kind was very seldom encountered. Experience indicates that in this difficulty as in other lesser ones which have arisen in the public service the problem can be solved by proper attention to administrative methods. In the case of the United States Employment Service, set up almost overnight as a war measure, there was not time to perfect methods, nor did it seem possible in the rapid wartime expansion to take advantage fully of experience already available in certain states. The marvel was that the Service did not lay itself open to more criticism than that which fell to its lot.[1]

One other important weakness laid at the door of the public bureaus is the danger that executives and staff workers appointed to the bureaus may secure office through political or other influence rather than because of their equipment for the duties involved. This again is not to be regarded as an insurmountable difficulty, since some state and local public bureaus have secured and retained a satisfactory grade of personnel. Moreover, in other forms of public service, such as the public schools, post office, and offices carrying heavy financial responsibilities, where the public has become convinced of the importance of efficient service, it has been possible to secure a comparatively high grade of personnel.

[1] For a fuller discussion of the wartime experience of the United States Employment Service, see Part Two, pages 131–135, of the present volume.

CHAPTER V

THE CASE FOR ESTABLISHING A PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

IT HAS been seen that five important, direct, and unorganized methods have been developed to meet the needs of employers and workers in making employment contacts; and seven important organized methods or agencies. Behind each there has been a different set of reasons and motives; each has been the outgrowth of special objectives and interests which in turn have left their mark on the character of the institution. Each has a particular significance for the further development of organized employment work and a contribution to it.

It has also been seen that the direct or unorganized methods of making employment contacts are inadequate to meet the needs at a time like the present when modern industry and industrial processes are becoming more and more thoroughly organized. For a large proportion of workmen and employers the unorganized methods mean too great a loss of time in securing work or workers. While use will undoubtedly be made of the unorganized instrumentalities for a very long time, they can handle a small proportion only of the aggregate of employment needs; and the indications are that the proportion will decrease. Some type or types of organized service are clearly necessary—some type or types which will meet the requirements of industry and the community better than they are met at present.

Which, then, of the seven forms of organized employment work which we have described offers the greatest promise of being able to meet the practical needs of the present and the immediate future?

An unqualified answer to the question at this time is not possible. Several general conclusions, however, seem reasonably clear: All the organized methods have weaknesses as well as advantages. Some, if not all, of the organized non-public employment agencies,

like some of the unorganized agencies, will nevertheless continue to operate for a long time. Certain ones may considerably increase the volume of their business; and in certain instances it may be desirable that they should. But even so, very extensive and important employment needs will still remain unmet. The greatest immediate promise of an instrumentality which will provide the service required, regardless of what the other agencies may do, appears to lie in the development of an efficient national system of public employment bureaus. Such a system, in addition to organizing placement work at once for those most unlikely to be properly served by other agencies, would at the same time seek to be a medium through which the co-operation of all bureaus working to reduce unemployment would be effected, and would extend the scope and amount of its own service as rapidly as its developing experience indicates it to be desirable and feasible.

The more important sets of facts pointing to this conclusion have to do with the amount of business carried on by the non-public agencies; the important fields left undeveloped by them; the need of a system national in scope; and the requirements of impartiality.

I. NON-PUBLIC AGENCIES MEET ONLY PART OF THE DEMAND

The first set of facts is quantitative. In the United States, according to the census of 1920, some 42,000,000 persons had gainful occupations, of whom it is estimated that 31,000,000 were wage and salary earners. At that time probably less than 5,000,000 were members of trade unions.[1] Even if we assume that the trade unions entirely fill the need for employment assistance for their own members (a fact by no means certain), this leaves 26,000,000 persons to be served by employers' association bureaus, fraternal and professional bureaus, philanthropic, private, and public bureaus, and the various unorganized forms of contact-making.

In practically every industrial and occupational group there

[1] Estimate of Professor George E. Barnett, of Johns Hopkins University, in Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, 1921, p. 55. Published as Supplement to the *American Economic Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March, 1922.

is a greater or less actual and potential need for organized assistance. It may be limited to a small percentage of the group, or it may be spread over the entire number; but practically no trade or industry was found where the demand will not sooner or later be made for help in finding jobs for workers and workers for jobs.

Moreover, the maximum limit of the annual need is not indicated simply by the 26,000,000 workers but rather by the total number of jobs which they hold in a year. During 1918 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made a study of labor turnover in representative factories in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Detroit. In 80 per cent of the factories in Cleveland the turnover was above 150 per cent; it was as high as this in 78 per cent of the Cincinnati factories; and in over 80 per cent of those in Detroit. In Cleveland two-thirds of the factories had a turnover that ran above 200 per cent; in Cincinnati one-third; and in Detroit three-fourths. For the industrial workers covered in these three cities each person held on the average over two jobs a year. If that average indicates anything for the other communities throughout the country—and even though the year 1918 was a high turnover year, we think it does—then the probable need for organized aid is seen to be even greater than that represented by the number of individual workers.

Again, in some of the fields where the need for organized employment work is most apparent, the census figures are illuminating. There are over 2,300,000 farm laborers in the United States not working at home, and thus subject to seasonal fluctuations in the demand for labor and the necessity of the worker's moving from one place to another which farm work for the most part entails. Over 3,000,000 men and women are reported by the census as gainfully employed in domestic and personal service, thus giving us in these two groups alone, representing on the whole what has in the past been the maximum quantitative need for employment assistance, considerably over 5,000,000 workers. There were, moreover, nearly 762,000 teachers, 300,000 nurses trained and not trained, 176,000 agents, canvassers and collectors, and 3,000,000 in clerical occupations, to name only a few of the specific occupations where a pressing need for organized employment work has been most generally recognized.

Proportion of Placement Demand Met by Non-Public Agencies

To meet this demand (assuming that the union agencies will take care of their own members and that want advertisements, as already indicated, tend to increase labor turnover rather than to decrease it and that their use is questioned on other grounds), we have first of all bureaus operated by employers' associations. There are relatively few of these. The National Metal Trades Association, which maintains the most active of them, had bureaus in only 25 cities at the time of our investigation. In New York City there were not more than 12 or 15 employers' organizations as compared to the 70 or more philanthropic employment agencies and the 700 or 800 private agencies. Most employers' associations were found to be either not sufficiently organized to undertake such a concrete piece of work, or individual members were not convinced of the need for it. The secretary of one association remarked that he had drawn up plans for a bureau two or three times, but his members generally said, "That's fine but we are able to handle our own work ourselves."

Aggregate Work of Welfare Agencies Relatively Small

The next group are the philanthropic agencies. A full list of them or of the employers' bureaus was not available, but there were reasons to think that the philanthropic agencies were more numerous than were those run by the employers' associations. In New York City in 1916 there were, including school and college bureaus and those of the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association, about 75 philanthropic agencies. A considerable number, however, were staffed by one person or a person giving only part time to employment work. It is safe to say that hardly more than half were placing enough workers to make their office of much importance; and while in many instances the offices were meeting quite adequately the needs of specialized groups, their employment activities, in the very nature of the case, were distinctly limited.

The philanthropic agencies of New York City have done relatively more employment work than those of other cities; and prior

to the war an association of the non-commercial agencies existed which was responsible for giving to the activity of these bodies a coherence not to be found elsewhere. In Cleveland none of the 67 constituent organizations of the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy was operating a formal employment bureau; while in a number of other large cities, particularly in the South, we found no employment work by philanthropic agencies at all. It is seen from this that the proportion of needed placement work which was being undertaken by this group of non-public agencies was comparatively small.

Part Played by Professional and Fraternal Bureaus

From the point of view of quantity the group of agencies conducted by lodges, professional societies, alumni associations, and the like is quite unimportant. The Masons have bureaus in the larger cities and a certain amount of work is done by most of such organizations; but the service rendered is available to a comparatively small and specialized group only. And but three professional societies had organized employment bureaus. While most colleges, moreover, do some placement or appointment work, it has not been developed to anything like the degree which the field demands. These bureaus, even if developed considerably beyond their present capacity, could not take care of any large part of the placement work to be done.

Private Fee-Charging Agencies Inadequate

There are, finally, the fee-charging employment agencies. The fields in which they are usually active have already been indicated. Regarding their actual number or the amount of their business, figures are very meager. The United States Employment Service in 1919 received reports from its federal directors concerning 1,847 fee-charging bureaus in the United States. Of these, 1,000 were reported to be in New York, 309 in Illinois, 281 in Pennsylvania, and 190 in Massachusetts—that is, a total of 1,780, or 96 per cent of all, were in these four states. These reports were, however, in many cases inaccurate and incomplete, and the Assistant Director General of the Employment Service estimated the number to be more nearly 2,500. He had in mind chiefly the larger

agencies. Other authorities have put the estimate as high as 5,000.

There are no available data upon which to form an accurate estimate of the total amount of business done through the private bureaus. In some instances, however, reports of placements are made by these agencies to the licensing bureaus, but usually there is little or no enforcement of this requirement. In Illinois in the year 1917–18, according to the chief inspector of private agencies, 593,482 people were placed by them. This figure is substantial, but there must have been at that time upwards of 2,000,000 wage-earners in Illinois, who with a general turnover of only 100 per cent a year, would in that year have represented almost four times as many potential placements as the number actually made by the private bureaus; so the total work done by the private agencies represented slightly less than 30 per cent of this hypothetical demand. Altogether the private agencies in Wisconsin placed 14,950 people in the year 1916–17, and 20,967 in 1917–18, a number which, compared to the wage-earners of the state or even to the work of the public bureaus, is insignificant.

Similarly, what facts were available for other states clearly indicated that the fee-charging bureaus in placing workers were handling only a comparatively small part of the work which needed to be done. And there is no evidence that the business of this type of bureau is increasing sufficiently to anywhere nearly cover the entire field.

Among the other important reasons why it is altogether improbable that the fee-charging bureaus can now or are likely in the future to cover the field which became clear as our investigation proceeded, is the fact that the laws of a number of the states make it difficult for such bureaus to operate within their borders. This is especially true of the South, and partly as a result of such laws in 10 southern states east of the Mississippi there were, according to the United States Employment Service figures, only 39 private agencies doing business at the time of our inquiries. In two of the states there was no agency at all, and the same was true of three western states.

The Non-Public Agencies Together Fall Short

From the foregoing it is seen that among the non-public bureaus, the union agencies, if they should take care fully of the placement work of their own members—which is vastly more than they are now able to do—would not serve more than about 5,000,000 workers out of roughly 31,000,000 wage and salary earners in the United States. Some of the remaining 26,000,000 would have no occasion to use an employment service; but on the other hand, a large part of the total number of workers would require organized aid more than once in a year. The aggregate need, stated quantitatively then, after eliminating the union workers, would undoubtedly still reach a number of millions of workers per year.

The non-public agencies which had been set up to meet this need in an organized way were seen to include the following: (1) want advertisements, which, as pointed out earlier, by causing people to change jobs tend to increase rather than to lessen the quantity of labor turnover and which are questioned on other grounds; (2) a small number of bureaus operated by employers' associations doing almost a negligible amount of placement work when the aggregate need is considered; (3) a relatively small number of bureaus maintained by philanthropic organizations in a few of the larger cities and performing also a limited service due to the fact that they were concerned only or chiefly with special groups of workers, in the main those handicapped in some way as job seekers; (4) a small group of agencies conducted by fraternal and professional societies, and the like which, since their service was available only to members, also touched a relatively small number of people; and (5) somewhere between 2,500 and 5,000 private fee-charging bureaus, which were falling far short of covering the vast field left after the informal mediums and organized agencies had done what they could.

II. IMPORTANT FIELDS LEFT UNDEVELOPED

Second, it is altogether improbable that the fee-charging bureaus, which from a quantitative standpoint offer more promise than the other non-public agencies, can cover the field because they are interested in rendering employment service only where profit-

able. They will operate only in places where the need for such a service is sufficient to enable the managers to clear something for the business; namely, localities in which the demand for jobs and for workers is the greatest. Places with smaller demands will be neglected. The great concentration of commercial agencies in New York, Chicago, and several other centers is illustrative. Indeed, there is reason to question whether even in the large centers these agencies, because they must seek only profitable business, can meet the employment need, as is indicated by the fact that even in localities where private agencies have been long established, public bureaus soon do a capacity business.

There were in Cleveland, for example, according to the reports of the state inspector, 22 private agencies operating in 1918; and on the basis of admittedly inadequate returns, he estimated that in the neighborhood of 46,000 men were placed through them. In that same year the public employment bureau in Cleveland placed 34,000 men, undoubtedly a maximum number for the staff which it then had. It is impossible to say, of course, how many of these 34,000 would have been handled by private agencies had there been no public bureau and how many, without its service, would have had no organized assistance at all; but none of the managers of private agencies with whom we talked would admit that the public office was materially cutting into their field or reducing their business.

Milwaukee when visited in 1919 had only one private clerical bureau and two which placed laborers and mechanics. The manager of the clerical bureau said that he did not think an additional bureau could pay expenses, and that before starting his clerical bureau he had operated an agency for common labor which had not been a financial success. Nevertheless, there was obviously a great deal of placement work to be done which was not touched by these agencies, as is shown by the fact that in 1919 the public bureau in Milwaukee filled 58,000 jobs.

The situation in New York City points further to the conclusion that the private agencies tend to limit themselves to the cream of the business and necessarily neglect that which is less profitable, although many workers remain in need of organized assistance. In New York in 1919 there were something over 700 agencies of

varying description besides the philanthropic agencies. For many years New York had been the stronghold of private agency activity, yet in the first nine months of its existence in 1915, the single public bureau in the Borough of Brooklyn placed 3,700 people, while in 1917 the office in Greater New York placed 17,600.

There are also certain special groups of workers who are not now adequately served but whose interests must nevertheless not be neglected. One of these groups is the junior workers. Because of their inexperience and need for protection, and their almost total lack of ability in finding proper jobs for themselves, these workers, perhaps more than any others, require organized assistance; and for them comparatively little is being done. A few philanthropic agencies, a certain amount of organized work being conducted in an experimental way by the schools in some of the largest cities, a junior employment service in a very few states, do not represent even adequate pioneering. Much the same thing is to be said for the physically handicapped; and the need for special assistance to certain racial or national groups such as Negroes and immigrants, is hardly being touched at all. If these are to be taken care of in a way even approaching adequacy it seems probable that the work must be done through public or governmental agencies.

III. NEED OF A SYSTEM NATIONAL IN SCOPE

But there were still other reasons why the non-public agencies were falling short of meeting requirements, particularly in agricultural areas. Although active in centers supplying labor for the western wheat fields, the waste and lack of co-ordinated service both to the worker and the farmer has been notorious. An example of the waste of this lack of any organized method of even disseminating accurate information about the quantity and location of the labor demand is seen in one report which came to us that "ten out of twelve non-farm bureau counties . . . have indicated a loss of 90,697 acres of wheat in one year because of lack of harvest labor"; while on the other hand, in other places men were seeking farm work and unable to find it.[1]

[1] For further discussion of the waste due to lack of an adequate employment system see Chapter XXIX, Farm Labor, page 527.

It became increasingly evident as our investigations proceeded, that if we are to have a system of employment bureaus which will help the employer find the best workers for his kind of enterprise, the worker the job he can do best, and thus increase our national industrial efficiency by reducing the waste due to lack of information on openings and workers, it must be national in scope. Its scope must be large enough to comprise our whole industrial situation and provide the machinery for opening up opportunities to workers in many industries and localities. Similarly, it must give employers wider ranges of choice than their immediate industry or locality provides. None of the other agencies, private, fee-charging, philanthropic, trade union, or employers', was found to hold any promise of handling the problem as a whole or on a nation-wide basis. Although each may be able to serve efficiently and satisfactorily a small and specialized clientèle, none could cope with employment needs on a national scale. As has already been seen, these bureaus leave unserved too many groups of workers and employers and too many parts of the country with which no one is concerned. The only substantial hope of a system which can meet these needs adequately seems to lie in the public bureaus working together through a certain amount of national co-ordinating machinery.

IV. REQUIREMENTS OF IMPARTIALITY

And finally, it has already been seen that neutrality as between conflicting industrial interests is essential if employment work is to succeed. Here again, in spite of criticism, the public bureaus offer the greatest promise among the organized agencies. While the philanthropic and fraternal and professional bureaus have approximated a satisfactory impartiality in their dealings with workers and employers, the limitations in their scope would at once eliminate them as possible agencies for serving the country's total employment bureau requirement. There then remain the private fee-charging agencies, which are already disqualified because of the lack of sufficient confidence in them (particularly in the common labor bureaus) found among large numbers of workers and employers alike; and the bureaus maintained by employers' associ-

ations and by trade unions, neither of which in the very nature of the case could be accepted as meeting the requirements of neutrality or impartiality. The public bureau is the only organized agency left to fall back upon.

The case for public employment bureaus, then, may be summed up as follows: The organized employment work being done through want advertisements and by the labor unions, employers' associations, fraternal and technical associations, philanthropic societies, and the fee-charging agencies falls far short of the needs of the country. The laws of a number of the states make it difficult if not impossible for the fee-charging agencies to do business in them. Some industries and regions cannot be served by these bureaus because the business is not sufficiently profitable. And even in some important fields like that of the harvesting of wheat where it does seem profitable for private bureaus to operate, lack of co-ordination results in waste for both employers and workers. An employment system large enough to comprise our whole industrial situation is needed, and the most substantial hope of such a system lies in the public bureaus. Finally, in the important matter of neutrality in organized employment work the public bureau appears to offer the highest degree of assurance. In other words, since the non-public agencies taken together fall short of meeting the quantitative needs of employment contact-making, since they leave important fields untouched which in the public interest should be provided for, and they are not well adapted to the requirements either of impartiality or of service on a co-ordinated national scale, we are led to conclude that the development of a national system of public employment bureaus seems to offer the greatest immediate promise of meeting the unfilled and growing wants of industry and the community.

Favorable Experience with Public Bureaus

In addition to these four main reasons for the establishment of public employment bureaus it is important to add that we have had sufficient experience with these bureaus in this country to show that they can and do produce satisfactory results in actual practice. Notwithstanding certain weaknesses exhibited by the rapidly expanded United States Employment Service during the war, even

that Service had much to its credit; and as has been pointed out, the work done by many of the state bureaus has been of sufficient quality to gain public favor, as evidenced by the increasing financial support supplied by state legislatures to these bureaus.[1]

Gradual Development of Public Service

In view of the many forms and methods of employment work which are found in use, and of the reasons why some are adhered to in one place and some in another, the change from the methods now in practice to a system whereby a maximum of the work is done through the public agencies must be a gradual process. This gradual process would allow the public bureaus to undertake both the more urgent and the less difficult fields of operation first, and thus to build a solid foundation of practical experience before undertaking the more highly technical work.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To sum up, then, we find that employment work consists in the collection and making available of information on work opportunities and on workers in search of them, and in the making of employment contacts. This work was found to be carried on by two main types of agencies or forms of contact-making—unorganized and organized.

Although substantial reasons were given as to why certain employers and certain workers used them regularly or occasionally, it was found that the unorganized methods alone were not equal to the growing demand for effective employment work—not to mention the social waste and loss of workers' morale caused by some of the informal methods. Prima facie evidence upon their inadequacy was the constant resort of employers and workers to other means of filling employment wants. They resorted to these because of five main reasons: (1) a large number of calls for labor come from out-of-town or other remote places, and a large number of workers come from out of town in search of positions,

[1] See also Chapter VI, Part Two, The Several Administrative Possibilities for a National System of Public Employment Offices, where the development of the public employment bureau movement in this country is traced, and the accomplishments of different types of bureaus are discussed.

making necessary, if time is not to be wasted, some kind of centralization of the information on jobs and workers; (2) even in the same city jobs of certain kinds are so widely scattered that time and effort are saved if information on work opportunities can be organized at central points; (3) among workers, day's workers especially, who change jobs frequently and employers whose labor turnover is large, time and effort again are saved by a centralization of the information on jobs and men; (4) the relatively less able workers need employment assistance that is quick because of the greater frequency of their change of jobs, and for the same reason employers offering the less desirable jobs desired this kind of aid; and (5) many workers have little or no ability in getting information on jobs by themselves and have no knowledge of methods of making employment contacts.

If unorganized methods are inadequate, and modern industry therefore requires an organized service, of what kind shall it be? The possibilities were sought among the seven types with which industry was found to have had experience. (1) want advertisements in newspapers and periodicals; (2) employment bureaus maintained by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, employers' associations, and the like; (3) by trade unions; (4) bureaus conducted by fraternal, professional, and technical organizations; (5) by philanthropic societies; (6) private fee-charging agencies; and (7) bureaus maintained by the public. An examination of the first six of the organized methods, namely, all the non-public agencies, showed them insufficient to meet the need of organized assistance in making employment contacts.

Investigation showed further the reasons which lie behind the use of these unorganized and organized employment methods and agencies. Chief among these, in the case of the direct or unorganized methods, were: that in one or another of these, varying often with the circumstances, employers or workers saw certain advantages to themselves in bargaining over the terms of their work contract; that some of the methods appeared to give workers an advantage in competing with other workers for jobs, or employers in competing with other employers for labor; that some supplied desirable details and information about men and jobs; that some of the procedures seemed easy and convenient, "in the line of

least resistance"; that some satisfy a desire of employers to select workers from a large number, and of workers to know of as many jobs as possible; some also satisfy the worker's desire to have his personality and individuality recognized; and, finally, some were valued when workers or jobs were needed quickly in emergencies and the like.

The chief reasons for using organized methods were the following: (1) Want advertisements saved the time of employers when written responses were required; they often kept a steady stream of applicants coming to the gate of the plant and thus, as in the case of direct methods, increased the employer's bargaining power; and they brought quick responses in emergencies. The advantages were practically all on the side of the employer, but disadvantages to him were also found. This kind of advertising tended to cause people to change jobs and thus to increase the labor turnover of the community; and it also was expensive. For the worker it often meant a serious waste of time, and also subjected him at times to "fake" advertising and other abuses. (2) Bureaus operated by employers' associations carried advantages to employers in the greater degree of control of the means through which the employment contacts were made, and the confidence that such bureaus would be alert to advance the employers' interests. (3) Similarly, union workers saw advantage in bureaus maintained by the unions through their control over the contact-making agency. Employment contacts were easy and natural for them through this agency; little or no bargaining was necessary; the information supplied usually covered more matters of interest to them than are covered by other agencies; and union members thus could cooperate in increasing the number of work openings for members. (4) In bureaus operated by fraternal and professional organizations, both employers and workers, being members, meet on a more equal footing and their contacts are on a more or less personal basis. The fact of mutual interest by both employers and workers in the bureau or the organization operating it had a valuable reaction upon the quality of its work. (5) Bureaus maintained by philanthropic societies are part of their activities in helping families and individuals to self-support. Thus, these bureaus are in the great majority of cases laboring in the interests of workers

who are handicapped in one way or another. (6) The best known fee-charging agencies are those placing professional and office workers, domestics, and casual and unskilled labor. In general, employers and workers thought the professional and technical bureaus to be efficient and doing reasonably satisfactory work. On the other hand, employers were not satisfied with the efficiency of the general labor agencies and regarded them with indifference or suspicion; while the attitude of workers was definitely hostile. (7) Outstanding considerations among those who used the public bureaus was that they were free and open to all employers and workers on equal terms. Not that opposition to the public bureaus was not found among employers, for it was; but in general the opposition was to the service as administered in 1919, at the time of our field investigations, rather than to public employment service as such. Everywhere and from all points of view the importance of impartiality on the part of the public bureaus was emphasized.

But it was further found that no one of these organized agencies was fully meeting the employment needs of industry and the community. A consideration of their future possibilities leads to the conclusion that the greatest immediate promise lies in the development and raising to a high standard of efficiency of a national system of public employment bureaus. Four important reasons point in this direction: the fact that all the non-public agencies together fall short of meeting the quantitative demand for an able employment service; that they leave important fields untouched which in the public interest should be provided for; that they are not well adapted for service on a national co-ordinated scale; and that in the nature of the case they cannot meet the requirements of impartiality.

It is recognized, however, that the change from the methods now in practice to a system whereby a maximum of the work shall be done through the public bureaus must be a more or less gradual process. The first step in the process should be to provide placement service for those unlikely to be properly served by other agencies, and at the same time to seek to bring all bureaus working to reduce unemployment into as effective co-operation as possible. Then the service should be extended in amount and scope as

rapidly as experience proves it to be feasible and the development in industry desirable.

Finally, in the reasons why employers and workers use one or another method of making employment contacts and in the considerations pointing toward the desirability of developing a national system of public employment bureaus, are found both direct and indirect suggestions as to problems which need to be faced and obstacles to be overcome before such a national system can be developed on an adequate or satisfactory basis. They call attention unmistakably to important questions of policy and method, the answer to which must be found in the way in which the public employment service shall be organized and administered, both in its broad, general aspects and in its more detailed local features. These are subjects which will be taken up in Parts Two, Three, and Four of this volume.

PART TWO

ORGANIZING AND ADMINISTERING A NATIONAL PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

By
MARY LA DAME

CHAPTER VI

THE SEVERAL ADMINISTRATIVE POSSIBILITIES FOR A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

BY WHAT unit or units of government shall a nation-wide employment service in the United States be administered? By the local governments? By the states? By the federal government? Or by some combination of these? In answering we are not without experience, nor has our experience been limited to but one of these methods of administration. On the contrary, it has covered almost the entire range. And the field investigations of this study included visits to public employment offices which represented, either at the time the visit was made or at some previous period in the history of the office, every variety of governmental control which has been attempted—exclusively municipal, exclusively state, and exclusively federal, as well as that joint control in which any two, three, or even more units of government have participated.[1] Not only was the method of administering the offices in operation at the time of our inspection analyzed, but their administrative history was also studied.

Believing that the experience we have already had in this country will prove a basis for recommendations for the organization and administration of a system of public employment bureaus and provide the background for discussing the merits of the various types now in existence, we shall in this chapter consider them all briefly. Then in Chapter VII we shall discuss the two types most applicable to a permanent nation-wide employment service in the United States.

[1] In some instances both county and town have been represented in the administration of a public employment office.

I. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

The employment office administered by the municipality has in this country been a frequent if sporadic phenomenon.[1] Nor is this difficult to understand, for the commercial and industrial conditions which create a city produce a great supply and division of labor and require some organized method of bringing workers and employers together. In other words, an employment service appears to be a concomitant of city life. It is quite logical, therefore, that the unit of society which is most immediately sensitive to the need of such an exchange should, itself, establish one.

The first action taken by any government authority in this country suggestive of an employment office of which we can find any record occurred in 1834. At this time the corporation of the City of New York provided that a place be designated in every market where those who wanted work could meet those who wanted workers. Certain hours were appointed for men; others, for women. This informal exchange probably functioned for servants only.[2]

Some thirty-five years later, in 1868, San Francisco voted a $3,000 bond issue to aid in supporting the California Labor Exchange. This was a free employment office in San Francisco established by voluntary effort to combat the malpractice of fee-charging and "shanghaiing" agencies which at that time harassed the city. Later the legislature, which met in 1869–70, not only authorized the expenditure of these $3,000 but voted an appropriation for the exchange of $500 a month for a period of two years. At the end of this time further support was denied and the exchange reverted to exclusively private support.[3]

During the industrial depression beginning with what is called

[1] Between 1893 and 1919 over 40 municipal employment offices had been established throughout this country. Of these but a few were still in existence at the time of our investigation.

[2] Report on Conditions of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, prepared under the direction of Charles P. Neil, Commissioner of Labor, Washington, 1911, Vol. IX, p. 25, footnote.

[3] Eaves, Lucille: A History of California Labor Legislation, Vol. II, pp. 337, 339. Berkeley, University of California, 1910.

"the Cleveland panic" of 1893,[1] the cities of Los Angeles and Seattle each established an employment office. That of the former, however, was partially supported by the county.[2]

In the period from 1899 to 1906 employment offices were instituted by the following cities in the order indicated: Superior, Duluth, Sacramento, Butte, Tacoma, Great Falls, Montana, and Spokane. Originating on the Pacific coast, the municipal employment office spread first to other centers in the far West and Northwest where the demand was predominantly for unskilled and seasonal labor. It is significant, too, that these municipal bureaus started in states where no legislation for state employment offices had been successfully enacted.

The unemployment consequent upon the panic of 1907,[3] and that which swept the country during the business depression beginning in 1913 and extending through the winter and spring of 1914–15,[4] gave great impetus to the establishment of public employment bureaus by municipalities as a part of their relief program. Between 1913 and the spring of 1915 particularly, they developed rapidly. In many of the larger cities a mayor's committee on unemployment was created. These committees emphasized the necessity of an employment office as one of the first steps in any intelligent treatment of unemployment. In some of the cities where at this time municipal employment offices were set up, namely in Denver, Kansas City, Missouri, St. Joseph, and Chicago, a state bureau was already in existence. In the others, either no public employment bureaus had ever been established or else they had been given up. Of these emergency bureaus, some of which were created by mayor's committees, many were discontinued after the crisis had passed.

A few of the offices established by municipalities, those of Superior and Duluth among them, had been absorbed by the state as soon

[1] Business Cycles and Unemployment. Report and Recommendations of a Committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment, including an investigation made under the auspices of the National Bureau of Economic Research, 1923, pp. 5, 6, 59. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923.

[2] Conner, J. E.: Free Public Employment Offices in the United States, p. 8.

[3] Mitchell, Wesley C.: Business Cycles, p. 77. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1913.

[4] Business Cycles and Unemployment. Report and Recommendations of a Committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment, pp. 5, 6, 59.

as the latter enacted legislation providing for public employment bureaus. Many of the remaining were taken over by the United States Employment Service. In a few cities only—Seattle, Sacramento, Louisville, Richmond, and Chicago—had the city bureau at the time of our investigation persisted as such. These few persisted not because of any conviction on the part of the municipal authorities that the city should support the bureau independently, but because of their inability, due largely to political obstacles, to reach a satisfactory agreement with either the federal or the state governments to take the service over.

The discontinuance on October 10, 1919, of its field offices by the war emergency employment service stimulated some of the cities, where these offices had been operated and where no state public employment bureau legislation had yet been enacted, to continue them under their own authority.

The most recent crop of municipally operated employment offices was the result of the widespread unemployment of 1920 and 1921. Some of these did and still do receive a small amount of aid from the United States Employment Service.

On the whole, relief of distress due to unemployment has been the chief purpose of the municipal employment office. There is no doubt, however, that other factors have influenced the establishment of these bureaus, such as the tendency of cities to imitate the municipal ventures of other cities and the alertness of local politicians to patronage.

Weaknesses of Municipal Administration

From the point of view of administration, exclusively municipal employment offices have, in general, been far from satisfactory. Too often they have been relegated to the charities department of the city government; and their connection with municipal lodging houses and woodyards has been too intimate. As a matter of fact, many of the so-called municipal employment offices have been nothing more than emergency relief stations and should be classified as such rather than as bona fide employment bureaus.

Appropriations for these offices have from the beginning been

very scant. In at least three instances, in Superior,[1] Great Falls,[1] and Newark,[1] no appropriation whatever was made. The bureaus in these cities were established merely as adjuncts of other departments of the city government, whose fields of work were remote from problems of unemployment or from employment bureau activities. In Great Falls the duties of the office were performed by the city weigher; in Newark by the city clerk; and in Superior by the clerk of the Board of Public Works.

Bureaus set up for immediate relief purposes have, as a rule, been more generously, but still by no means adequately, financed. Another handicap in respect to municipal appropriations for public employment offices has been the annual uncertainty of their continuance.

Our observations indicate that the choice of staff in employment offices administered by the municipality has been more influenced by political considerations than that in offices operated either by the state or by the federal government. And in those city offices where the personnel has been subject to municipal civil service requirements, it has been more efficient than where appointments have been made by the mayor or the administrative officer in charge. By no means, however, have municipal civil service commissions been free from partisan influences.

Originating, as has been stated, for the most part as a relief agency, underfinanced, inefficient, and understaffed, the municipal employment office with few exceptions has made little contribution toward effective public employment office administration and, therefore, toward any permanent or widespread organization of the labor market. Even those which have been more permanent have remained very much as isolated units. They have assumed no responsibility for developing any systematic co-operation in respect to unfilled demands with other municipal offices either in the same or in other states. An institution so inherently local can hardly be expected to think or act in national terms; nor has it. The idea of a nation-wide system of exclusively municipal employment offices seems little less than chimerical. The fact, too, that local governments are merely units of the state, created by

[1] These offices now are a part of the state employment services, but each receives aid from the city.

it for administrative purposes, would make their exclusive operation of an employment service national in scope, quite inconsistent with the principles of sound organization. But that the municipality should share in the support and management of its local unit of a nation-wide employment service, experience has proved to be both desirable and feasible.

II. STATE ADMINISTRATION

While the idea of municipal responsibility for providing an employment exchange seems to have antedated the assumption of responsibility by the states, the first *permanent* legislative enactment carrying an appropriation was made by a state—Ohio in 1890. The growth of the state public employment office has been slow but persistent. During the thirty-odd years which have elapsed since the establishment of the first one, 32 different states are credited with statutes providing for an employment service controlled and operated by the state.[1] Montana and Idaho have enacted legislation delegating the responsibility to municipalities.

[1] The following is a chronological list of the states which have enacted legislation creating a public employment office, or offices, together with the year of enactment. Of this number the 26 designated by an asterisk are operating under state control one or more offices with aid from the federal government and in some instances from local governments. From 1907 to 1923 Colorado maintained offices. In the latter year the legislature failed to make any appropriation for the purpose.

*Ohio	1890	*Oklahoma	1908
Montana	1895[a]	*Indiana	1909
*New York	1896[b]	South Dakota	1913
*Nebraska	1897	*New Jersey	1915
*Illinois	1899	*Pennsylvania	1915
*Missouri	1899	*California	1915
*Connecticut	1901	*Iowa	1915
*Kansas	1901	*Arkansas	1917
*West Virginia	1901	*Arizona	1917
*Wisconsin	1901	Georgia	1917
Maryland	1903	*New Hampshire	1917
*Michigan	1905	Utah	1917
*Minnesota	1905	*North Carolina	1921
*Massachusetts	1906	*North Dakota	1921
Colorado	1907	*Louisiana	1921
*Rhode Island	1908	*Nevada	1923

[a] The Montana law was repealed in 1897; bureau discontinued. A substitute law enacted in same year authorized municipalities to establish employment bureaus.

[b] This New York law was repealed in 1906; office discontinued. Subsequent law passed in 1914. Labor law of New York recodified in 1921. See footnote on page 117.

Elimination of the abuses of the fee-charging agencies[1] was the primary, if not the strongest reason for the establishment of state public employment offices during the first fifteen years of their existence.[2] Beginning, however, in 1906 when the Massachusetts statute was enacted, this objective gave way to a more far-reaching one, the reduction of unemployment. With emphasis, then, on the public employment office as the mechanism for organizing the labor market and, as one of the first and most obvious steps to be taken in any program to reduce unemployment, each subsequent period of unemployment, as has been pointed out in the Introduction,[3] provoked state action in providing employment offices.

The Rhode Island statute of 1908 and the statutes of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California, and Iowa of 1914 and 1915 were the result of severe unemployment. The period extending from 1911 through the spring of 1915 witnessed the most marked increase of state public employment offices. Not only did the important industrial states referred to enact statutes establishing them, but their provisions were more intelligent, more far-reaching, and administratively more feasible than those previously enacted. The New York law[4] in particular was evidence of the advancement in thought on the subject.

Moreover, the creation by Wisconsin of a state industrial commission in 1911 and by Ohio in 1912, and the assignment to these commissions of the administration of the public employment bureaus in their respective states, precipitated the immediate reorganization and expansion of the bureaus. Then, too, Illinois in 1915, on the basis of recommendations made by the Mayor's Commission on Unemployment of Chicago, amended its legislative provisions for public employment offices and forthwith reorganized them.

[1] For description of these see page 4.

[2] Conner, J. E.: Free Public Employment Offices in the United States, p. 82.

[3] See pages 4–16.

[4] This law was repealed and the labor law of New York was recodified on March 9, 1921. The recodified law specifies that the Commissioner (the administrative head of the Department of Labor) "may provide for the establishment and maintenance of public employment offices for the purpose of securing employment for men, women, and children." The administration of this general provision makes possible the retention of all the specific provisions of the 1914 statute.

The state statutes passed in 1917 were occasioned by the shortage of farm labor so thoroughly absorbed by war industries, and by the necessity, if food production was to be increased, of devising some machinery to recruit such labor.

Types of Legislation Establishing State Employment Bureaus

While some of the statutes have been fantastic, they are gradually being modified to comply with those which have best stood the test of an active experience. Roughly the statutes may be classed as of three types:

First: Those establishing an office in the State Bureau of Labor Statistics usually entailing a mail order system.
Second: Those establishing no offices but authorizing certain municipalities to maintain and operate them independently.
Third: Those establishing a system of offices in the important cities of the state.

The first type of statute, for the most part, has been peculiar to agricultural states. It had its origin with the Iowa Commissioner of Labor who, in 1893, inaugurated a public employment bureau on his own initiative after his recommendation embodied in a bill failed of confirmation by the legislature. His attempt was to establish without funds in every city and hamlet of the state through some local official a correspondence employment service, primarily for farmers and farm hands. The experiment was discontinued after its fifth month, failure apparently having been inherent in the plan itself. Although the Iowa experiment never received legislative sanction, it served as the model for the legislation of several states. Statutes based upon it have been enacted by Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, West Virginia, Maryland, South Dakota, Arkansas, Georgia, and New Hampshire, even by Iowa in 1915, some twenty-two years after her original experiment. Montana, however, faced a failure very early and repealed her law in 1897, two years after its passage. Her testimony is pertinent:

". . . Experience has demonstrated," states a report of the commissioner of the Montana Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, "that the scheme was projected on erroneous lines.

The law as it was enacted and continued provides merely that the office shall receive and record applications for 'Help' or 'Employment,' and then send by mail to those requiring 'Help' the names and post office addresses of all persons whose applications are on file for that class of employment. In other words, the duties of the office are limited to bringing those desiring help and those desiring employment into communication with each other by use of the mails. While this may appear a fair method to all those seeking employment, and is so theoretically, it is not practical. When an employer desires help he wants it at once, and expects the employment office to send him without delay the person or persons desiring employment of that character. If satisfied he employs the applicant. If he has to await the receipt of a list of names and addresses through the mail and then enter into correspondence with one or more of the applicants, he will in preference go to a pay office, make his application and have the person desiring employment brought or sent to him."[1]

Kansas and South Dakota have amended their original statutes; and the former continues to provide an appropriation for carrying on employment office work in various centers. While the other states indicated as having passed legislation of this first type have not revised it, they are not operating a mail order service. Local and federal funds have made possible in most of these states the establishment of one or more offices in addition to a possible one in the office of the State Commissioner of Labor.

The second type of statute, that of the states authorizing local governments to operate independent offices, has been adopted, as already stated, by two states only, Montana and Idaho. The provisions of the Idaho statute, from the point of view of practical application, are at least ingenious. To quote from the statute:

Section 3.—In all cities, towns and villages of this state, having a population of five thousand or more, there shall be established by the authorities thereof a suitable employment agency. . . .

Section 4.—In cities, towns and villages having a population smaller than five thousand, it shall be the duty of the municipal authorities to establish a separate employment office when conditions in any such municipality seem to warrant the same, but if no such separate employment office is established, it shall be the duty of the municipal authorities to provide for the establishment

[1] Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of Montana. Fourth Annual Report for year ending November 30, 1896, pp. 17–18. Helena, the State, 1897.

of such an office in the office of the *police judge*, or there being no such official, then in the office of a *justice of the peace*.[1] (Italics ours)

Several cities in Montana and at least two in Idaho have at some time or other established public employment bureaus.

The states which have been content with their original legislation, either authorizing municipalities to establish and maintain public employment bureaus or providing for a bureau in connection with the Commissioner of Labor's office at the capitol on the mail order plan, have failed to develop anything approaching an adequate state-wide employment service. It must be remembered, however, that these types of legislation have been almost entirely confined to agricultural states, and that the organization of an effective state employment service in agricultural areas presents a peculiar and difficult problem. Here the demand is rather for workers than for employment. And not only is the demand extremely seasonal, but it is scattered over the entire state and over a large number of farmer employers. Nor are there usually in these areas many constant and "natural centers of labor supply." Moreover, the legislatures in agricultural states have seemed even less willing than those in others to vote appropriations for employment office purposes.

The third type of statute establishing a series of offices in the important cities of the state under a central administrative authority is that which has been adopted by all the other states making any provision for public employment offices—by California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York,[2] New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and the remainder. Moreover, the amendments to the Kansas and South Dakota statutes virtually put them in this third class. However far the offices under this type of statute have fallen short of their objective, they have, at least, approached very much nearer to it than those created under the other two types.

[1] Labor Legislation of 1915. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 186, Washington, 1916, pp. 138–139.

[2] In statute of 1914, since repealed.

Participation of Local Governments in the Administration of Local Employment Bureaus

Some of the amended and more recent statutes grant authority to the states to enter into agreements with local governments for the establishment and maintenance of local employment bureaus. Wisconsin was the first state to make this kind of amendment. And it is unquestionably on the basis of her demonstration of the practical working out of such an agreement that the other states, with or without definite statutory provision, have followed her example. Wisconsin is so convinced of the desirability of local participation in the support and management of local offices that in 1919 she passed an additional amendment to the effect that:

"no local free employment office shall be established by the industrial commission in any county, city, town or village to be maintained in whole or in part by public funds unless such county, city, town or village shall jointly or severally agree to furnish as a minimum in the joint enterprise, suitable quarters for such office, which must be approved by the industrial commission, and to pay all expenses for such quarters, such as rent, heat, light, furniture, telephone rental, and janitor service. The industrial commission may defray all other expenses in connection with such office."[1]

State co-operation with the local authorities in some of the municipalities in which a state employment bureau was located existed in Wisconsin from the beginning. It was not, however, until the reorganization of the state system in the fall of 1911 that any effective joint-administration was brought about. Milwaukee led the way. The success of a free emergency employment bureau, established by her early that spring, was attributed to the enthusiastic, intelligent, and non-partisan direction of it by a committee of citizens representing the city, the county, employers, and workers; and to the financial aid which the committee furnished and could control. Accordingly, when in the fall the appropriation allotted by the state for the reorganization of its permanent Milwaukee office fell far below the need, the state authorities appealed for help to the sources which had financed

[1] Wisconsin Statutes, Chapter 631, Section 2394–52. Subsection (9a), Paragraph (a), Section 1, as amended 1919. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 277, Labor Legislation of 1919, Washington, 1921, p. 351.

the free emergency bureau, that is, to the county and the city. Furthermore, in order to enlist local support, both financial and moral, and in so far as possible to assure a non-partisan, aggressive, and businesslike administration, they selected approximately the same committee to assist in the management of the new office as had assisted its effective predecessor.

Since that time the city and county of Milwaukee have appropriated annually sufficient funds to meet charges for rent, light, heat, telephone, and janitor service, as well as for equipment. The state defrays all other expenses, and the local committee has continued.

The Milwaukee plan has been applied to the administration of all state public employment offices in Wisconsin with such minor variations as local conditions demand. Nor did Wisconsin relinquish this form of administration during the war, even though the United States Employment Service was both able and willing completely to finance the offices with federal funds. In accordance with the policy laid down by the State Industrial Commission, every community in which an office was established paid the fixed charges incurred by it, and had a local committee participating in the management of it.

Ohio, like Wisconsin, has strongly advocated the participation of local communities in the support and management of these local bureaus. The Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1912 created an industrial commission to which was delegated the power of administering the state employment offices. At the same time the convention conferred home rule upon the municipalities, most of which adopted charters providing that "the Director of Public Welfare shall have supervision of the free employment office."

Any immediate establishment of public employment offices by the municipalities was rendered unlikely by the action of the industrial commission which, in the process of reorganizing the state offices, offered to the cities a share in their management. In view of the fact that some, if not all, of the cities in Ohio were in hard financial straits and that the membership of the industrial commission inspired confidence, the offer was accepted.

Five of the seven cities in which public employment offices had been established agreed to furnish quarters and equipment

together with a part of the office staff, the latter subject to municipal civil service requirements. In all cases the local superintendent was to be paid by the state and selected in accordance with state civil service procedure. His selection from one of the three most successful competing candidates was left to a local committee composed of representatives of employers, workers, and the social agencies. No permanent local advisory committees were appointed as in Wisconsin, but the director of public welfare of each city which had such a department was expected to exercise supervision over the office.

The arrangement by which some of the Ohio municipalities were allowed to dictate appointments on the staff of their local office even though nominally subject to municipal civil service regulations, resulted in some very undesirable ones. Workers were employed who owed their allegiance to the source of their appointment and who recognized no other authority or discipline.

Even in the wartime expansion of her employment offices before the projection of the United States Employment Service in 1918, Ohio held fast to the principle of state-city administration. Early in 1917 the mayors of the 21 cities where offices either already had been or were to be established, together with representatives of employers and labor, were invited by the governor to attend a conference at which the plan for the extension of the state service was explained and their support for it solicited. In consequence, each new office established became a state-city institution, and additional support was pledged for the original seven offices by their communities.

New Jersey and California, in some instances, have worked out co-operative relationships with local communities. Neither, however, has done so on a state-wide basis. Indiana is one of the newest recruits to this type of joint administration.

Performance of State Administration

State control of public employment offices, either singly or in co-operation with local communities, has wrought no miracles. Indeed it has been subject to many limitations, some of which have characterized municipal control.

Lack of adequate appropriation has been the most far-reaching

handicap. Until 1906 the largest of any of the state appropriations for public employment offices was but a drop in the bucket. At that time Massachusetts, enacting legislation for the creation of state employment offices, appropriated $25,000 as a total for the entire state. Of this sum approximately $23,000 was spent in establishing and maintaining, during its first year of operation, the Boston office. Wisconsin in 1912 and Ohio in 1914 each succeeded in having the original appropriation increased, and supplemented it by direct or indirect contributions from the local governments in which offices were situated. The sum of $54,235 voted in 1915 for the Illinois public employment offices, exceeded by a considerable margin that of any other state, even of New York, for the same year.

Subsequent to the curtailment of its field offices by the United States Employment Service, in 1919 several of the states, stimulated by the scale on which they had been operated, and faced with the re-employment problem of returned soldiers and sailors, were moved to vote increased appropriations. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, California appropriated $75,000, Illinois $199,445, and New York approximately $300,000. The reduction in appropriation later made by New York has been a setback to the development of the service in that state and in the country as a whole. It has been, however, in a measure offset by the new statutes and amendments carrying new or increased appropriations in other states.

Nor should the financial contribution made by local communities in those states which have adopted the state-local type of administration be overlooked. It has not only amounted to a substantial proportion of the money available in these states for public employment office purposes, but the fact that a local community gave a certain sum has, it is stated, served as an inducement to state legislators to vote larger appropriations.

The inadequacy of state appropriations has necessarily been directly reflected in the quality of the personnel of its employment bureaus. From the very beginning compensation has been far too small to attract the type of ability required. Though increases have been made, there is still urgent need for further upward revision of the entire salary schedule.

Moreover, political considerations have long been a factor in determining appointments; but they are very much less of a factor in the states having civil service regulations.[1] Where there has been co-operation between a local employment office committee, such as the Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee, and the State Civil Service Commission in the selection of the workers for a local office, appointments in general have been satisfactory.

While supervision can never make up sufficiently for mistakes in selection, it can do a great deal to increase the efficiency of those selected. As yet comparatively few states have had the wisdom to provide for the performance of this function in the person of a state director or state superintendent. Those that have provided such trained leadership have been marching in the vanguard of the public employment bureau movement of this country.

In view of the many handicaps it has suffered, it is not to be wondered at that state administration has been slow to develop any systematic co-operation even among its own local offices. Some appreciation, at least, of the desirability of such affiliation was recognized, however, at the outset. This is indicated by a provision in the original Ohio statute that a report of the unplaced applicants for work and unfilled orders for workers should be made weekly to the commissioner of labor. He in turn was to assemble and distribute these reports in bulletin form to all the offices, where they were to be posted for public inspection. The benefit of these bulletins apparently amounted to little or nothing, as the local superintendents at a meeting in 1896 voted to discontinue them and to utilize the funds thus released for advertising.

Wisconsin, though one of the first states to emphasize the necessity for a state "system" of public employment offices and alert to the desirability of an interchange of information concerning unfilled jobs and unplaced applicants, was unable to provide any machinery to make it effective. A certain amount of co-operation between offices did take place, but it was casual and on the whole negligible. Ohio was the only state to develop a systematic exchange of unfilled

[1] These states in the order of their provision for civil service regulation are: New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Illinois, Colorado, Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio, California, Kansas, and Maryland. Connecticut repealed her law in 1921. See Civil Service, by Edward Clark Marsh. New York, National Civil Service Reform League, 1922.

orders and unplaced applicants before the projection of the United States Employment Service; and this not until 1917.

The first evidence of any attempt by state employment offices to work out methods of co-operation with one another by which surpluses and shortages of labor could be adjusted was the formation in 1904 of the Western Association of Free Employment Bureaus.[1] This consisted of the commissioners of labor of practically all the states in the wheat belt, and its purpose was to achieve a satisfactory distribution of harvest hands. The state employment office at Kansas City, Missouri, was to act as a clearing house, to which each co-operating state was to report weekly its supply and demand. In our inquiry it was impossible to find any record of the work accomplished by this Association.

Much more significant was the organization in December, 1913, of the American Association of Public Employment Offices, now the International Association of Public Employment Services, the purpose of which was to extend and improve the public employment service throughout the country.[2] This Association which has since met annually, includes in its membership representatives of many public employment offices in this country and in Canada.[3] It has done much, through facilitating an exchange of experience, to bring about improved methods in the administration of offices and generally to promote their establishment.

In 1914 the National Farm Labor Exchange developed as an outgrowth of this Association. The Exchange was composed of State Labor Department officials and representatives of interested civic organizations in the states of the wheat belt, together with representatives of the United States Departments of Labor and Agriculture. Its purpose was identical with that of its forerunner, the Western Association of Free Employment Bureaus.

From the outset the International Association of Public Employment Services recognized keenly its responsibility "to weld

[1] Sutherland, E. H.: Unemployment and Public Employment Agencies; a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts, Literature and Science, University of Chicago. Published in the report of the Mayor's Commission on Unemployment, Chicago, March, 1914, p. 140.

[2] Name was changed in 1920.

[3] Proceedings 1913–16 and 1921. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, Bulletins Nos. 192, 220, and 311. Proceedings 1920, Dominion Department of Labour, Ottawa, Canada, 1920.

our scattered American public employment offices into a nation-wide—even continent-wide—system." But it has never labored under any illusion that the states themselves could, would, or should establish and operate the machinery to perform the interstate and other co-ordinative activities essential to the proper running of such a system.[1] Interstate co-ordination is one of the functions the federal government was created to perform. Under such a conception, participation by the federal government in the administration of a nation-wide governmentally operated employment service would be acceptable to the states as an inherent requirement of such a service.

In conclusion, whatever the shortcomings of state administration, the fact remains that 26 states have established and are now operating public employment offices. While the development of efficient and scientific methods may have been unduly delayed, there has been much progress, and the processes of evolution, it must be remembered, are slow.

III. FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

The federal government has operated public employment offices independently, in connection with states, together with municipalities, and jointly with both. This it did first under the Bureau of Immigration, and later under the United States Employment Service.

Under the Bureau of Immigration

It was in behalf of immigrants who were suffering from the congested living conditions in the larger population centers and of the other persons who were also affected by such congestion, as well as in behalf of the communities desiring immigrants but receiving too few, that the federal government in the year of the panic, 1907,

[1] The following resolution was adopted by the Association at its second annual meeting September 25, 1914, at Indianapolis:

"Whereas the State free employment offices must necessarily devote their main efforts to the distribution of labor within the States; and whereas the interstate distribution of labor is most important in reducing unemployment,

"Therefore be it

"*Resolved by this convention*, That we call upon the Federal Government to establish agencies for distributing labor among the States and for co-operating with the State offices in such distribution." United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 192, Washington, 1916, p. 141.

created within the Bureau of Immigration a special Division of Information. The function of this Division was "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several states and territories desiring immigration." The first task of the Division was to gather information on the "resources, products and physical characteristics of each state and territory." This it was to publish in various languages and to distribute "among all admitted aliens who may ask for such information at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as may desire the same."

After much of this information had been accumulated, the Division recommended the creation of branch offices in several of the larger cities as the most effective means of distributing it. Only one such office was established, and that at Ellis Island in the spring of 1908. It was soon discovered that newly arrived immigrants were too excited and anxious to see their relatives and friends to be immediately interested in information about possible employment. Moreover, once they had got safely out of the hands of the immigrant officials, fear of deportation kept them from returning to the office. Then, too, the risk of being classed as an immigrant and the journey to Ellis Island apparently deterred the "such other persons" designated from patronizing the service. The office was, therefore, moved over to New York City as a more favorable location.

Although commissioners of immigration and inspectors-in-charge at the various stations throughout the country were instructed to detail one employe to the information and distribution work, the Galveston station seems to have been the only one which actively carried out these instructions.

A lack of understanding of its purpose and function, frequently a misunderstanding of them, hampered the Division of Information from its start. Its limited funds permitted neither adequate publicity nor efficient personnel. Field offices were few. Yet notwithstanding its failure to perform its own limited function,[1] in

[1] The commission appointed to study the problems of immigration in its report made in 1910 stated:

". . . As conducted, the work of the division appears to be essentially that of an employment agency whose chief function is supplying individuals to meet individual demands for labor in agricultural districts. It does not appear that persons

1914–15 the Division was made the vehicle for a federal employment service.

With the outbreak of the war, immigration had practically ceased. The personnel of the immigration service was free for other duties. At the same time, unemployment was rife throughout the land. Public employment bureaus were being popularized as never before; they were extolled as the first step in any program for the reduction of unemployment, and a national system of public employment offices was being advocated as the only means of organizing the demand for and the supply of labor. The decision of the Commissioner General of Immigration to convert the immigration service into an employment service is altogether understandable. Legislative authority was to be had not only in the clause referring to the distribution of such information among admitted aliens and "such other persons as may desire such" of the original act, but also in the organic law[1] creating the Department of Labor under whose jurisdiction the Bureau of Immigration came.

The initial step taken by the Bureau of Immigration for the organization of a nation-wide public employment service was the establishment of 18 employment zones, with a public employment branch station and sub-branch stations in each zone under the direction of an immigration inspector. To the State of Washington a total of 14 offices was allocated; to California, also 14; to Texas, 10; but to Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, only four; and to New York and New Jersey, only three.[2] One thing is certain—these offices were not distributed on a population basis. Neither were they placed according to need.

By agreement with the Postmaster General, 60,000 post offices became quasi employment bureaus, and the ghost of the former state mail-order employment service once more stalked forth. Co-operation was also effected with the Department of Agricul-

thus distributed have, as a rule, been distributed with the purpose that they would become permanent settlers in the districts to which they went, but rather that a more or less temporary need of the employer and employe was supplied through this agency."

[1] "The purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment."

[2] Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, Washington, 1915, p. 272.

ture, Department of the Interior, National Farm Labor Exchange, and state and municipal employment offices. To several of the latter[1] the Department of Labor either detailed representatives, provided quarters, or did both; or otherwise entered into some form of agreement. Expansion continued so that by July 31, 1917, four months after our entrance into the war, the employment activities of the Bureau of Immigration had extended to 37 states with offices in 41 cities and branches in 52 cities.[2]

Even in a normal period such a service would have been impotent, but during the exigencies of the World War its paralysis became disastrous. With no appreciation of what the employment office function entailed, with a personnel trained and interested in another field of work, with scant publicity and less direction, and with methods adapted to the treatment of merchandise rather than human beings, little could have been expected. That the Secretary of Labor as early as 1916 recognized the necessity of a reorganization of this service is indicated in his report of that year.[3] In 1917 he submitted for insertion in the emergency deficiency bill a request for $750,000 to finance for 1918 a nation-wide employment service that could adequately meet war needs.[4] In the passage of that bill early in October, 1917, Congress appropriated but $250,000, one-third of the proposed amount, "to enable the Secretary of Labor during the present emergency to render such assistance in the employment of wage-earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war."

Two months later the President allotted to the Department for the same purpose $825,000 from his national security and defense fund. It was not until January 3, 1918, that the employment service was separated from the Bureau of Immigration and made an

[1] Among these were state offices in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and Ohio; municipal offices in Tacoma and Los Angeles.

[2] Squires, Benjamin M.: British Labor Exchanges and United States Employment Offices, p. 144. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, Monthly *Labor Review*, August, 1919.

[3] Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, June 30, 1916. Washington, 1917, p. 73.

[4] Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, November 10, 1917. Washington, 1918, p. 88.

independent unit of the Department of Labor with the designation, "The United States Employment Service."

Under the United States Employment Service

Nine months of war had already wrought havoc in our labor market when the United States Employment Service was created. Employers everywhere were extravagantly bidding against one another for workers; private labor agencies were as extravagantly aggravating that competition; and workers themselves, in great numbers, were traveling from job to job through the country. To bring order out of chaos with all possible speed was the task confronting this new Service.

Even before the central administrative office in Washington was at all adequately in hand, and without any thought-out policy, representatives were detailed to organize the field. In those states where no offices had previously been established either by the state or the municipality, they had carte blanche. In states where state or municipal offices were already in operation their problem was a much less simple one. Early in February, directors for the states began to be appointed in order to bring about a "federation" of federal, state, and city offices. These directors were to administer the entire service within their own state, but their powers were vague and differed considerably with individuals.

In April the field was divided into 13 employment districts, corresponding in general to those of the Federal Reserve Banking System, with a district superintendent placed in charge of each. The creation of the district offices plunged the service into a series of conflicts with state directors. Continuously the question arose as to who was in authority. Lack of employment experience on the part of the district superintendents themselves, as well as the absence of any working machinery for transferring a surplus of labor in one place to meet a shortage in another or even for supervision, made it impossible for them to function. The failure in this case of the district offices to operate effectively does not, however, invalidate district organization; circumstances strangled it from its beginning.

While the Service was in the throes of organization, the Presi-

dent issued a proclamation that all unskilled labor must be recruited through the United States Employment Service.[1] Thereupon the executives of the Service, realizing its inadequacy to perform this colossal task of recruiting, adopted, on the recommendation of a group of employment specialists, the policy of centralized control and decentralized operation. That is, control was to be vested in the Washington office but the state was to be made the unit of administration. This entailed the dropping of the district offices, the creation of a definite form of administrative organization for the states, and a re-alignment of the work of the central office in Washington.

These reforms were being worked out when the armistice was signed. Overnight then the function of the Service, as far as laying plans for the future was concerned, was reversed. Instead of recruiting men, with the return of the soldiers it had to be prepared to recruit jobs. Thus the Service was again obliged to readapt itself to new conditions. Its first move was the curtailment of those essentially wartime divisions which had been created to recruit workers—the United States Boys' Working Reserve, the United States Public Service Reserve, the Stevedores and Marine Workers' Division, and the Mining Division. Simultaneously with the discontinuance of these divisions, others were established to deal, more intensively than the war organization had made either necessary or possible, with the placement of special groups. These consisted of returned soldiers and sailors, junior workers, the handicapped, professional and technical workers, and farm labor. This readjustment had hardly begun when the failure of Congress to pass the deficiency bill,[2] thus greatly reducing the funds for the Service, made drastic retrenchment imperative.

Just prior to March 22, 1919, the date of the first curtailment, the United States Employment Service, at the zenith of its expansion, was operating 854 offices on a budget exceeding $5,500,000 and it was employing 4,079 salaried employes in addition to a personnel of 3,075 appointees at a nominal salary of one dollar a year.[3] After March 22, the number of offices financed exclusively

[1] June, 1918. [2] Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill, 1919.

[3] Annual Report of the Director General of the United States Employment Service to the Secretary of Labor, for fiscal year ended June 30, 1919. Washington, 1919, p. 38.

by the federal government was reduced to approximately 56, the personnel to approximately 800, and the budget to a little over $1,000,000. The financial aid, however, rendered by various local welfare and commercial agencies did make possible the continued operation for a time of some 490 offices.

Though still further inroads were made, the final blow did not fall until early in October. Then the entire field service was discontinued, and only the skeleton of the administrative organization in Washington retained. Since that time the Service has functioned, necessarily in a very limited way, as a co-ordinating and promotive agency for the various state and municipal offices. To this end it has appointed the official head of each state service, or where there is none the authorized representative of one or more local offices, as federal director of the United States Employment Service for the state at one dollar a year.[1] This appointment has carried with it the franking privilege, and in some cases small subsidies to the offices. Furthermore, the country has again been divided into districts and a district director assigned to each. The chief function of the district office is the monthly collection within the district, of information concerning general and specific employment conditions and the distribution of labor.[2] This is published monthly in the *Industrial Employment Information Bulletin*.

The other activities of the federal Service are concerned with promoting a service for juniors and organizing the demand and supply of farm labor, particularly in the wheat belt. Both of these activities are carried on in co-operation with state and municipal offices, and in the case of the Junior Division, with school authorities.

Any judgment of the performance of the United States Employment Service must take into consideration the fact that it was first and foremost a war emergency organization. Projected at the eleventh hour, it was shot up at reckless speed. Workers trained in public employment office methods in the quantity required by

[1] Except in states (Virginia, for example) where state officials cannot accept federal appointment. Here the officer became the Acting Federal Director for the state.

[2] *Industrial Employment Information Bulletin*, United States Employment Service, Washington, Vol. II, November, 1922, p. 1.

the Service did not exist. And those with executive experience of almost any kind had been largely absorbed by other war agencies earlier established. The Service was forced to take what it could get and too frequently this meant "raw recruits." But the personnel, with few exceptions, gave of its very best, and this was everywhere augmented by sincere and generous effort on the part of advisory groups.

In addition to its large proportion of untrained workers, the kaleidoscopic changes through which the Service passed were very serious obstacles to progress. And the lack of genuine co-operation on the part of some state services and some employers certainly did not expedite matters. That the Service made many blunders in its relation to these groups is only too true. In its zeal to get things done, the necessary thought as to the best method was frequently neglected.

Accomplishment of the War Emergency Service

Notwithstanding the gigantic handicaps which the Service encountered, it has not been without its positive contributions. In the first place, it has given to the people of this country something of an insight into the function and possibilities not only of local employment offices but also of a nation-wide service. It is quite inconceivable that any future congressman of the United States will again ask, as did one as late as 1916, "Could the activities of this system, if these employment bureaus were established, be used for the distribution and marketing of farm products?"[1]

Particularly to the employes engaged in the state and city offices has the experience of the United States Employment Service given a broader vision of their work. It has instilled in them new ideals and aspirations.

In the second place, the Service has done much to point the way toward better administration of public employment offices. The work of the training and publicity divisions of the central administrative office set valuable new standards. Moreover, the emphasis which the Service placed on specialization with various

[1] United States Congress. House. Committee on Labor. Hearings on H. R. 5783, a bill to provide for the establishment of a National Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor, February, 1916. Sixty-fourth Congress, First Session, p. 45.

groups of applicants—juniors, farm labor, professional, handicapped—has done much to awaken consciousness of the problems they present. Again, the form of administrative organization set up in the states, with its functional divisions in some cases and its state advisory board and community labor boards, has in a measure its application to a peace-time program. All in all, it is clear to us that the public employment office movement is the better off for its experience with a war emergency service. With the waning of the prejudices which it left behind, its more positive and constructive aspects emerge conspicuously.

But neither the Employment Service of the Bureau of Immigration nor the United States Employment Service can be accepted as exemplifying exclusively federal administration. Both in the last analysis were hybrids.

The Alternatives

Of the types of government administration of public employment offices discussed in this chapter, but two seem applicable to a future nation-wide service—state administration in co-operation with the federal and local governments, and an administration exclusively federal. A more detailed consideration of the respective merits of these will next be taken up.

CHAPTER VII

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION VERSUS FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

WHAT, then, are the relative merits of the two methods just discussed for the development of a national system of public employment offices in this country; namely, an exclusively federal service, or a service in which the states cooperate with the federal and local governments?

In the United States but few functions so local in their application as an employment service are administered entirely by the federal government. Of these the post office service is the outstanding example. It, however, is not altogether comparable to an employment service. The great bulk of incoming and outgoing mail handled at almost any local post office is intercity, interstate, and international. In other words, a much larger part of the business done by a local post office is the transfer of mail to other offices inside or outside its state than is true of a local employment bureau's service in transferring workers from city to city, state to state, or over still wider territories.

Nor are there many functions jointly controlled by the federal and state governments. Vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, agricultural extension, highway construction, the prevention of venereal disease, and the protection of mothers and infants have been since 1914 the subjects of far-reaching federal legislation. To promote the development of these interests the federal government has made grants-in-aid to the states on their agreement to comply with the provisions which it has prescribed. To the extent to which these functions involve no inherent interstate activities, they differ quite fundamentally from an employment service. Any such difference, some hold, and we think rightly, would invalidate the applicability to an employment service of the administrative experience gained in their functioning.

I. NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Exclusively national or federal administration of employment offices is, indeed, limited. It is operative in Great Britain, New Zealand,[1] the Argentine,[2] and Poland[3]; in the last country only since 1919. As already indicated, our own war emergency employment service cannot be accepted as typical of completely centralized control. The British Labor Exchanges, on the contrary, can be.

Centralized Control Represented by British Labor Exchanges

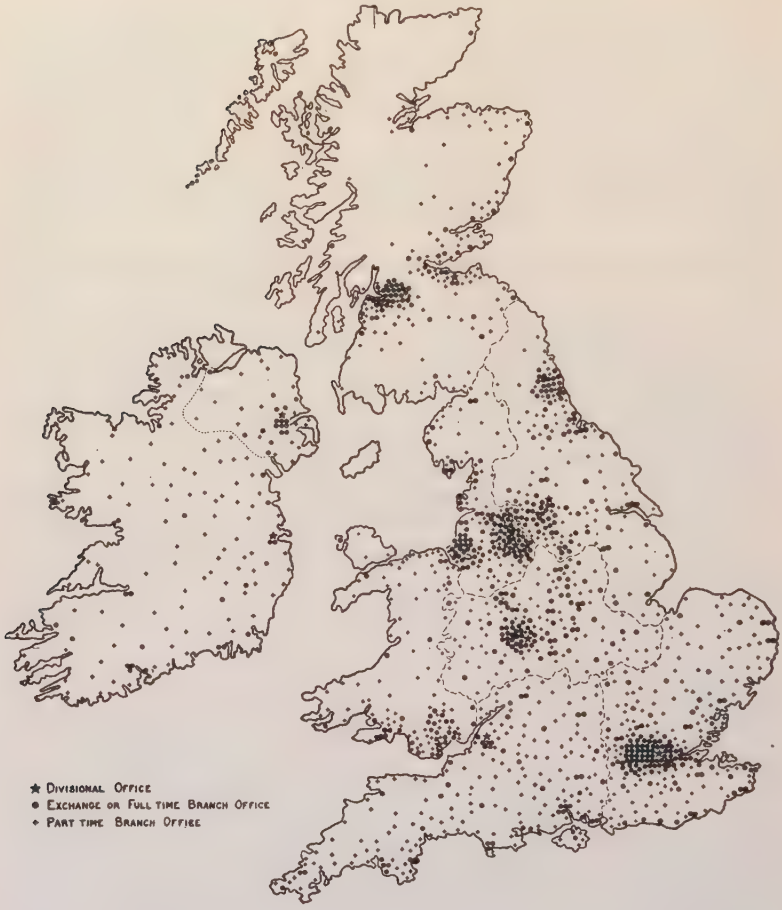
Since 1909 the United Kingdom has maintained a comprehensive system of employment offices, generally acknowledged to be the most efficient in existence. The act creating the exchanges grants authority to the Board of Trade "to establish and maintain in such places as they think fit labor exchanges; to assist any labor exchange maintained by any other authorities or persons" and to make regulations with respect to their management. A more recent enactment provides that the exchanges shall be utilized to administer national unemployment insurance. The total cost of operating the exclusively national exchanges is defrayed by the national exchequer.

Conditions in the United Kingdom, however, are much more favorable to a highly centralized system of labor exchanges than they are in the United States. The area of the United Kingdom is only about one-twenty-fifth that of the United States, its population nearly half, though in terms of density nearly 10 times as great. Primarily the United Kingdom is an industrial rather than an agricultural country; and its industries are less diversified and geographically much more centralized than ours. Moreover, practically the only public bureaus operated in the United Kingdom before the national government inaugurated its system were those maintained by municipal distress committees authorized and stimulated by the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905. Finally, the government of the United Kingdom is not a federal government

[1] League of Nations Report on Unemployment (Item 2 of the Agenda), prepared by the Organizing Committee for the International Labour Conference, Washington, D. C., 1919. London, Harrison and Sons, 1919, p. 33.

[2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Ibid., p. 45.



Public Employment Offices in Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Free State in December, 1923

The map shows the approximate location of 552 full-time offices and 724 part-time branch offices in England, Scotland, and Wales; 17 full-time offices and 20 part-time branches in Northern Ireland; and 23 full-time offices and 92 part-time branch offices in the Irish Free State. Two branch offices, in the Shetland and Orkney Islands, are not shown.

made up of 48 units, all bent on preserving the full measure of their autonomy.

Nor are conditions in the Argentine, New Zealand, or Poland, where the national governments have established employment offices, at all comparable with those in the United States. The size of these countries, their industries, and their political organization make them differ widely from the United States.

II. NATION-WIDE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES CO-OPERATIVELY ADMINISTERED

It is as an alternative to a purely federal or national service, exemplified most strikingly by the British Labor Exchanges, that a state system of employment offices co-ordinated by the federal government and receiving a certain amount of co-operation from local communities is advocated for the United States. Under this plan of federal-state-local administration, each state would operate its own service. The federal government would subsidize these services on their fulfilment of certain prescribed conditions. It would co-ordinate and stimulate them and establish the necessary mechanism to perform the co-ordinative functions. As in Wisconsin, each local community in which a unit of the Service was established would defray the fixed charges entailed in its operation and participate in its management through a local employment committee.

In by far the great majority of countries where public employment offices have been established—in Canada, Norway, Denmark, Spain, France, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland—co-operative administration prevails. The national government, with certain provisos, grants subsidies in partial support of the offices, sometimes to political districts which correspond to our states, sometimes directly to municipalities.

Federal-State Administration Typified by the Employment Service of Canada

Of these co-operatively administered employment services, that of Canada is one of the most recent and comprehensive. Like that of the United States, Canada's is a federal government; and like our own states, a few of the Canadian provinces and cities had

created their own employment offices prior to any attempt by the federal government to do so. But, from the time the idea of a dominion-wide service was launched in Canada, only federal-provincial administration was seriously considered. It was the only type of control advocated even by the Dominion government itself.[1] In addition to the establishment of a system of free public employment offices in the Province of Ontario, the Ontario Commission on Unemployment reporting in 1916, recommended the organization of provincial employment bureaus throughout Canada with a view to their ultimately being linked together in an effective national system.[2]

This recommendation is embodied in the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act. The latter provides that the Dominion government, by means of subventions to the provinces, contingent upon an agreement between the two as to the terms upon which payment shall be made, is "to aid and encourage the organization of employment offices and to promote uniformity of methods among them; to establish one or more clearing houses . . . and to compile and distribute information received from employment offices and from other sources regarding prevailing conditions of employment."[3] The provinces therefore control their own services, subject only to the terms of the agreement referred to in cases where they receive federal subventions. Since the agreement is renewed annually it is possible for the Dominion government, by gradually raising its requirements, to make the whole service increasingly more efficient each year.

Thus, the two most adequate systems of public employment offices yet established, that of the United Kingdom and of Canada, represent, in keeping with their respective forms of government, the alternative types of administration which have been proposed for a United States employment service. In each case substantial reasons have been brought forward for the action taken. These need to be considered in their application to a policy for the United States.

[1] Stewart, Bryce M.: The Employment Service of Canada. In Bulletin of the Department of History and Political and Economic Science, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, No. 32, p. 6.

[2] Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment, A. T. Wilgress, Toronto, 1916, p. 13.

[3] The *Labour Gazette*, Ottawa, May, 1918, pp. 355–356.

III. THE CASE FOR EXCLUSIVELY FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

The advocates of a national or purely federal employment service claim that it makes possible (1) a more satisfactory unit for administrative purposes; (2) unified responsibility; (3) greater uniformity of operation; (4) a superior personnel; (5) greater stability; (6) more prestige; and (7) a more rapid development of the service.[1] A detailed discussion of each of these arguments follows:

A More Satisfactory Unit for Administration

In constructing machinery to adjust the country's demand for and supply of labor, any conditions or forces which themselves facilitate that adjustment should be fully utilized. The machinery should be built to enhance rather than to obstruct them.

Distributed throughout the country are recognized centers of labor demand and supply. Connecting many of these are channels through which the supply naturally flows. Nor have these been determined by state lines, but rather by the volume and homogeneity of demand in the various centers. Very definite channels have developed along the Pacific coast and in the Northwest, where the chief industries are still farming and lumbering. Likewise in the steel areas of Pennsylvania and Ohio; among the textile, boot and shoe, and paper manufacturing centers of New England; and elsewhere. The movement of workers between nearby centers in different states imposes limitations on the state as the only unit for distributing labor. This, for example, is the case between New York City and the two New Jersey cities, Jersey City and Newark; between Seattle, Washington, and Portland, Oregon; between Detroit, Michigan, and Toledo, Ohio; between Superior, Wisconsin, and Duluth, Minnesota; between Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Trenton, New Jersey; between Chicago, Illinois, and Gary and Hammond, Indiana; between East St. Louis, Illinois, and St. Louis, Missouri.

[1] Some of these arguments are mentioned though not developed in detail by Dr. George E. Barnett in his discussion of "Employment and the War," in Papers and Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. *American Economic Review*, Supplement to Vol. VIII, No. 1, March, 1918, pp. 184–186.

The industrial centers and localities where extra supplies of labor accumulate would seem to be the logical points of departure in determining the structure of an employment service.[1] A division of the country into regions, with reference to these centers and to the channels through which the supply of labor naturally flows, would make for much more logical units of administration than do the states, since the latter have been organized as political, not as industrial, entities. Moreover, in their desire to retain their own labor supply, the states are likely to obstruct that adjustment between the demand and supply of labor which an employment service is designed to facilitate. This was strikingly illustrated during the war. The employing interests in several of the states where there was at times a surplus of labor bitterly fought the attempts of the United States Employment Service to send workers elsewhere to meet critical needs. A regional unit of administration would not only insure equally satisfactory local service to local communities, but would also, by facilitating such transfer of workers, aid toward placing labor to the best advantage of both workers and employers much more than does the state unit. It would also divorce the service from 48 political relationships and establish it more positively as an industrial institution.

Economy through regional administration is another advantage which a federal service presents. Only after a very careful study of all the factors involved, such as the number of clearance stations needed and the number of local offices one regional office staff could most efficiently manage, could the number of such regions be determined. But they would be comparatively few; certainly not 48, as is necessary if the state is to be the unit of administration. Whether they would number 13 and coincide with the federal reserve banking districts, only thoroughgoing analysis and experiment could determine.

Nor is the experience of the United States Employment Service with regional organization pertinent. The 13 districts which it created in April, 1918, discontinued, and revived in 1920, were not intended to displace the states as units of administration. Each of these districts is merely an aggregate of state units, with the

[1] Kellor, Frances A.: Out of Work; a Study of Unemployment, p. 353. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915,

collection of employment information, at present, as its chief function.

The United Kingdom found eight territorial divisions adequate for the administration of its 414 exchanges and their 1,159 branch offices.[1] Obviously, the cost of operating, let us say 15 administrative offices instead of 48, would be considerably less. Altogether then, a region as the basic unit of administration, possible only in a completely federal service, would seem to the advocates of the latter much more natural, efficient, and economical than the state unit, which is inherent in a federal-state-local service.

Unified Responsibility

It is argued that the concentration of executive power in one person in order to fix responsibility is an axiom of sound organization, and that division of that power between two sources, the federal government and the state government, and the distribution of it again among 48 units of the latter distributes responsibility so widely as to make the elimination of friction and the coherent and consistent operation of the service a difficult matter. While the very critical and in some instances the recalcitrant attitude of a number of the states toward the war emergency service can be attributed in some measure to the latter's mistakes in operation, the real cause, according to this point of view, was much more deep-seated. It was due to a conflict inevitable in dual authority.

Uniformity of Operation

All organizations composed of a series of similar units distributed over a city, a state, or the United States, each functioning as part of a system and connected with one another for the same purpose, have introduced into each unit a certain uniformity of policy and procedure. The Bell Telephone Company, the Western Union, the Woolworth ten-cent stores, the Childs restaurants (though between the units of the latter two there is not necessarily any interactivity), all to a great degree have standardized their policy and methods.

The adoption of standardized policies and practice usually presupposes that experience or scientific experiment has proved that those adopted are more effective and at the same time more

[1] League of Nations Report on Unemployment (Item 2 of the Agenda), p. 35.

economical than others. "Standardization," states Morris Llewellyn Cooke, "means making the best better through the co-operation of myriad minds, rather than the imposition of hard and fast rules from the top."[1]

In addition to satisfying the demand for efficiency and economy in each unit as a separate entity, uniformity of policy and procedure is essential to any systematic exchange or functioning between two or more units. In an employment service it is particularly necessary for satisfactory clearance. In a telephone service, if each exchange had radically different switchboards and methods of operation, long-distance connections would be difficult if not impossible. In a telegraphic service, if the communicating offices did not utilize the same codes and operating devices or those producing the same results, there would be little telegraphic service. Likewise, if one local employment office had a system of clearing its vacancies each day and another office each week, there would be little activity between the two offices.

Again, for administrative reasons, comparisons of the performance of the different units, supervision, training, and transfer of personnel, as well as for effective publicity, standardized policies and procedure are imperative.

At the same time, complete uniformity is neither necessary nor desirable. Specialized divisions of an employment service for particular groups of workers—juveniles, handicapped, farm, professional, and others—as well as the individual differences of states and local communities make complete uniformity impracticable. Yet certain fundamental uniformity is essential, and it is this which a federal service, it is urged, is more likely to uncover experimentally and attain than is a federal-state-local service.

A Superior Personnel

With the exception of the chief executive officer, the personnel of a national employment service administered entirely by the federal government would be selected in accordance with federal civil service regulations. All advocates agree on that requirement. Thus, it is contended, a much more efficient personnel would be selected

[1] Cooke, Morris Llewellyn: Our Cities Awake, p. 110. New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1918.

than under the other system, in which each state would choose its own. "In the first place," states Dr. Barnett, "the service [an exclusively federal one] would be more attractive and a better class of officers could be secured. Secondly, the danger of purely political appointment is very much greater in the state-managed systems than it would be in a federal system. How many of the existing state systems are operated by officials appointed and holding under civil service rules? . . . but if the offices with which the laborers come in contact are manned by political incompetents, the system will be rotten at the bottom."[1]

The implication in Dr. Barnett's question that but few states have adopted civil service regulations is correct. As to the comparable efficacy between federal and state civil service, the following statement by a student of public administration, who as a member of the first Ohio Industrial Commission reorganized the Ohio state employment offices, is to the point. "There can be but little doubt," he says "that the chances of men and women obtaining appointment on the basis of their merit and fitness are much superior in the Federal civil service than they are, or ever have been, in either the State civil service or that of our municipalities. The merit system of appointment has been established long enough to have won recognition from Federal authorities."[2]

It is true, moreover, that the power granted the governor in certain states where civil service is in force, to approve or reject the appointments made by special boards or commissions from the civil service lists of eligible candidates, makes selection on the basis of merit quite a matter of chance.

Nor can any shortcomings of the personnel of our war emergency employment service be urged against this point of view, for it was not chosen according to federal civil service regulations. It would be unfair to compare that personnel as a whole with the staffs of those state services which have been selected by state civil service commissions.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the employes of the

[1] "Employment and the War." In *American Economic Review* Supplement to Vol. VIII, No. 1, March, 1918, p. 185.

[2] Hammond, M. B.: Training for Public Service, Columbus, p. 63. Ohio Board of State Charities Bulletin, Vol. XXIII, February, 1917.

Bureau of Immigration who were transferred to the United States Employment Service were in general not superior to the officials of some of the state services who were appointed according to state civil service regulations; some thought them not equal to the state officials. Broadly, however, in spite of the comparatively recent dismissals of certain civil service employes in the Treasury Department, it is quite generally accepted that federal civil service works out more satisfactorily than does state civil service.

Stability

Federal institutions, once launched by legislation in the permanent interest of the people, are not exposed, it is claimed, to the same fluctuations in appropriation that characterize many of our state institutions. According to this point of view, members of Congress who decide the appropriations represent a greater degree of leadership and more breadth of experience than do members of state legislatures. Their terms of office are apt to be more continuous; they are less amenable to pressure for action from individual and immediate interests; they are also less liable to respond to such pressure; for one reason, because taxation for federal institutions seems farther removed and more indirect than that for state institutions.

The remoteness of the federal government, ignorance of its functions, the complexity of its machinery, the scale on which it operates, its comparative stability and comparative efficiency, as well as its very wide powers, are all factors which enter into the respect which the "average citizen" feels toward federal institutions. That they command more confidence, more deference, than state institutions, and once established are more likely to stay established, is commonly acknowledged.

Rapidity of Development

It is assumed that if a federal service were inaugurated it would carry with it sufficient appropriation to make possible the establishment of a nation-wide service. Even though under federal-state-local administration the federal government be given authority to establish and operate offices in states which had not provided or could not provide them, or in states whose already established ser-

vices refused to co-operate, a great deal of time undoubtedly would be consumed before such final action would be taken and a complete system could be organized. Moreover, the quickness with which states would respond to the offer of the federal government to co-operate in a combined service is a matter of doubt.

The foregoing constitute the principal arguments in behalf of an exclusively national or federal service. On the whole they are and must of necessity be, to a considerable degree, theoretical. Nor do they stand, as is to be expected, undisputed. However, before attempting to draw conclusions, let us look now at the reasons given for the combined service.

IV. THE CASE FOR FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

While there may be additional arguments in favor of an exclusively federal service, those just presented are the significant ones. Formidable as is the case which they make, it is quite outweighed, the champions of a federal-state-local service contend, by the following considerations: (1) the vested right of the states to administer their own employment service; (2) the essentially local nature of the employment problem; (3) the opportunity afforded by local participation in the management of local offices for (a) more flexible administration, (b) more effective co-operation from employers, (c) greater efficiency in local office management, (d) self-government; (4) a larger total appropriation; and (5) the fact that there are many state and a few municipal offices already in operation.

States' Rights

The argument of states' rights is perhaps the one most frequently advanced in behalf of state administration of public employment offices. It has significance, at least on the part of those states which have already established their own services, as an expression of their desire to continue to control them and of their opposition to an exclusively federal employment service.

The American State is a republic within a republic. Broadly, it frames its own government, creates and controls its own institu-

tions. It has already in many instances provided state employment offices. The contention is that to do this is its inherent right; and the implication is that the rights of the state take precedence over those of any other unit of government.

In so far as this right is thought of in connection with the smaller units of government, there is no question as to its preeminence. The city, county, and town are mere creations of the state, established as a matter of administrative convenience. Any power which the state has delegated to them it may revoke. Any municipal employment offices, then, which have been created by municipal ordinance exist, in the last analysis, at the will of the state. They have been established through authority granted to the local governmental unit by the state.

Nor is there any quarrel as to whether the administration of public employment offices should be a state or an exclusively local function. From the very beginning this function has been recognized by municipalities as one intimately connected with the welfare of the whole state, though in most instances the service of any typical office has been predominantly local. Although most of the state offices established have been supported and administered entirely by the state, the tendency, in view of the experience of Ohio and Wisconsin, is to share the cost of operation with the municipality and to grant it some participation in the management of the office. It is, then, in relation to the federal government that the question of the right of the states to operate their own services is pertinent.

The states of the Union are independent units possessed of sovereign power. The original ones existed before the federal government. They created that government and delegated to it irrevocably certain of their powers. They still then possess all the powers which they have not delegated to it.[1] And there has been no delegation of authority to the federal government which prevents the states from establishing and operating their own employment services. At the same time they have granted the federal government two powers which permit the latter to provide

[1] According to a decision of the United States Supreme Court, this holds true not only of the original states, but also of all the others, although these latter were established by acts of the federal government. See Bolln vs. Nebraska, 176 U. S. 83; also Coyle vs. Oklahoma, 221 U. S. 559.

for a federal employment service. These are the power to tax in order "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States," and the power "to regulate interstate commerce." Both of these powers the national government exercises to attain the same ends as those for which the states exercise some of their powers. Clearly these powers of state and federal government are not mutually exclusive.

Thus, the states have a vested right and the federal government has a delegated right to establish and administer public employment services. And while there are tendencies which point toward increased central or federal control, there is, at the same time, a very strong and growing sentiment in the opposite direction. Decentralization, as far as possible, of governmental and other activities and the throwing of responsibility back upon local units, particularly in matters where the business in hand is of as much local interest and significance as it is national, is being insisted upon. One illustration is to be found in the way in which local social, civic, educational, and religious organizations are developing their own local programs, or participating in their development, instead of depending entirely or largely upon national offices for guidance. Thus, from the point of view of this trend which is laying increasing stress upon the functioning of the state and local community fully in their own affairs, as well as of the older doctrine of states' rights, it appears that the states' rights argument still has real and vital force as applied to the question of public employment bureaus.

Local Nature of the Employment Problem

A much more weighty argument for a federal-state-local service than that of states' rights is the one advanced by D. D. Lescohier, formerly superintendent of the Minneapolis Public Employment Office: "The employment problem is and should be in the first instance a local problem."[1] This statement, as indicated by the text in Mr. Lescohier's treatise on the subject, means that workers are and should be employed in their own locality.

The employment of local workers in local industries is an essential condition of community life. And yet there are enough excep-

[1] Lescohier, Don D.: The Labor Market, p. 215.

tions to confuse the situation and to obscure both the essential fact and the socially desirable aim in employment work. The very nature of our industrial economy, the concentration and remoteness of some industries, their seasonality and their irregularity of production, make exceptions frequent. The lack of any employment for which they are fitted, unsatisfactory working or living conditions, restricted opportunity for individual achievement or adventure, all cause local workers to seek employment outside their own home town. Likewise, shortage of labor or inability to secure it under certain fixed conditions causes employers to seek workers elsewhere than in their own immediate center.

The desirability of the principle of local work for local workers is not to be questioned any more than is the restriction of its complete applicability. To workers it means economy of time, of effort, and often of income. It begets associations and contacts which become increasingly difficult to sever. It promotes thrift, security, family life. In short, it fosters a great many tendencies which make for the satisfaction of human instincts and the development of personality. To employers it means a steadier, more reliable, more efficient working force; a lower turnover; greater production; and more profit. To society it means broadly the development of a more stable body politic, increased wealth, and a greater probability of increasing well-being to the greatest number.

Obviously then, it should be the aim of any local office, other things being comparatively equal, to place local workers in local industries.[1] "The stabilization of employment," says Mr. Lescohier, "is the first duty of such a service. It should seek to help employers hold their men and help workers hold their jobs. It should seek to keep as large a proportion of workers at home with their families as possible. It should discourage employers from going out of town for labor unless it is absolutely necessary. No employment system can win the confidence of employers or attract to itself the best class of workers unless it follows this principle."[2] Notwithstanding, any local employment office would indeed fail to

[1] This is a very general aim, the application of which raises many questions. Some of these are indicated in the discussion of long distance clearance, beginning on page 410 of the present volume. On the whole this aim must be applied in the interest of the nation at large.

[2] The Labor Market, p. 215.

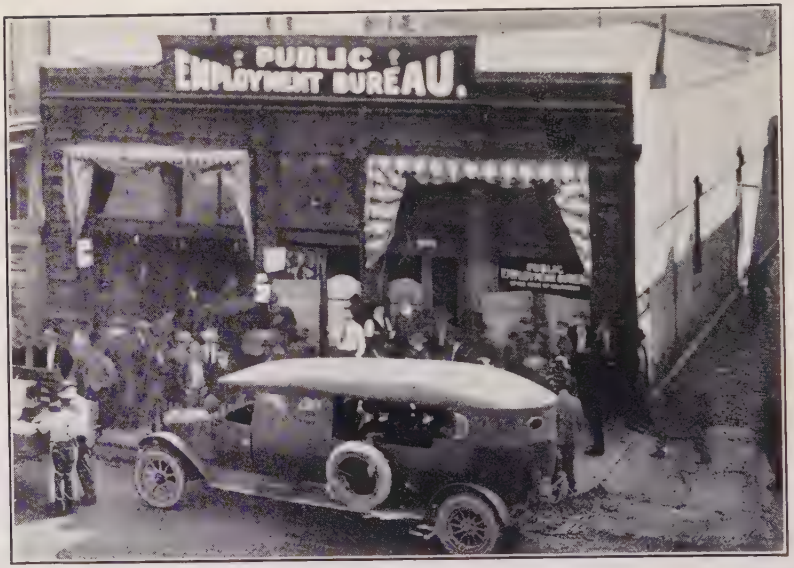


Photo by McCurry, Sacramento

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICE AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

These modest quarters of the Men's Division of the State Employment Bureau at Sacramento, were located on the street where most of the fee-charging agencies were found and directly opposite some of them.

perform its function if it did not make exceptions to this principle when the welfare of the nation or of an individual demanded them.

In the absence of any complete statistical data, the extent to which offices in this country have functioned locally and extra-locally is not determinable. Necessarily there is great variation among them on this point. According to the superintendent of the New York Municipal Employment Bureau in 1918, "nearly all of the work of the bureau is of a local character, examining, sorting and shifting a local supply to meet a local need."[1] And Mr. Lescohier writes: "Upon examination, previous to the war, of the records of the public exchanges, in one of the largest cities of the country, we found that the state exchanges located in that city did 95 per cent of their business within the city itself."[2]

In those offices, however, where statistics of out-of-town orders and placements have been compiled, and these offices are in the seasonal industry area, the extra-local character of the business is marked. Whether this business extends 10 miles or 50 miles from the boundary of the community in which the office is located, and whether within or without the state, these statistics do not indicate.

The Sacramento office, for example, for the two years ending June 30, 1920, had requests for over two and one-half times as many workers outside as inside Sacramento; and for the two years ending June 30, 1918, over three times as many.[3] The Fresno office reports for the biennium ending June 30, 1920, almost three times as many orders from out-of-town employers as from those in town and three times as many placements out of town as in town.[4] Both Sacramento and Fresno are centers in the heart of a great agricultural region, and Sacramento in addition is a railroad center. An analysis of the records of these offices indicates that the orders and placements were in agricultural, lumbering, and railroad occupations.

Seasonal offices, that is those operated only during certain months in connection with seasonal industries, in the very nature

[1] Report of Department of Licenses, City of New York, 1918, p. 72.

[2] The Labor Market, pp. 216–217.

[3] Nineteenth Biennial Report, 1918–20, California Bureau of Labor Statistics, Sacramento, p. 416. The State.

[4] Ibid., p. 417.

of the case serve an extended area rather than merely the political unit in which they are located. The total number of placements made by the six seasonal offices of California, established in Alturas, Chico, Eureka,[1] Marysville, Redding, and Willows, for the year ending June 30, 1918, within these immediate communities numbered 118; outside, 2,040.

Butte, Montana, presents another example of an office which performs a good deal of extra-local service. In 1916[2] a little less than 50 per cent of its male applicants and about 33 per cent of its female applicants were placed out of town.[3] Butte is a highly unionized mining camp where employment is largely controlled by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and where it is concentrated within a small area. Moreover, the Anaconda Company maintains a centralized employment office of its own. Under these circumstances the public employment office in Butte, excluded to a large degree from the mining industry and others controlled by it, has little opportunity to place workers locally. Besides, Butte is one of the recognized centers in the Northwest, in the midst of an agricultural area through which much labor flows to and from Seattle, Minneapolis, and other strategic points. Its employment office thus has a transient clientèle which it places largely outside the city—men as ranch hands; women as hotel, restaurant, and domestic workers.

In 1917[4] Los Angeles made 31 per cent of its total placements out of the city; in 1918, 43 per cent;[5] and for the two years ending June 30, 1920, 24 per cent.[6] Though the offices in Seattle, Portland, Oregon, Duluth, Kansas City, Omaha, and other cities do not differentiate in their reports between in-town and out-of-town placements, there is reason to believe that they do a large extra-local business.

[1] Incomplete record.

[2] The latest year for which this kind of statistics is available.

[3] Third Biennial Report, 1916–18, Montana State Department of Labor and Industries, Helena, p. 162. The State.

[4] Fourth Annual Report of the Public Employment Bureau of Los Angeles, 1917, p. 4.

[5] Fifth Annual Report of the Public Employment Bureau of Los Angeles, 1918, p. 4.

[6] Nineteenth Biennial Report, 1918–20, California Bureau of Labor Statistics, Sacramento, pp. 444, 446. The State.

It may be concluded that public employment offices situated in centers of population which are also railroad centers that serve areas characterized by seasonal industries extend their service beyond the limits of their immediate localities.

The administration of public employment offices has been such that they have catered to an out-of-town business. One of the chief objectives for which the public employment office was established, it must be remembered, was the elimination of the abuses of the private agency. In the pursuit of this end many of the characteristics of the private agency were carried over to the public office. In fact the private agency, at least in all its legitimate aspects, long served as a prototype for the public office. And a large proportion of the private agencies did an out-of-town business. It was logical, therefore, that, as with the private agencies, the clientèle of applicants of the public office should be in many instances migratory workers and that many of its orders should be for out-of-town jobs. Lack of a larger objective, inadequate appropriations, and failure to define any policy regarding the placement of local workers in local industries all undoubtedly have facilitated and induced extra-local business.

While some offices may do a comparatively large out-of-town business, the tendency as they begin to think about improved methods is clearly in the direction of giving precedence to local service. This only emphasizes the fact that employment and the employment bureau problem is primarily a local one.

In the report of its industrial committee, the New York City Merchants' Association sweepingly states, "The Public Employment Service in general as a matter of policy should be local in nature and entirely controlled by the interests affected."

The Desirability of Local Support and Participation in the Management of the Local Office

Whatever its proportion of local or extra-local business, any public employment office is an institution which should contribute to the welfare of the community in which it is situated. Because of this, then, local participation in the support and administration of the office is urged in order not only to secure greater flexibility in methods of administration; to stimulate the interest and

co-operation of the community, particularly that of employers; to promote efficiency and economy; but also to satisfy that primary impulse for responsibility and self-expression which is a part of community life.

Practically every community, it is urged, has its own industrial needs. Any institution which is to serve it adequately must take these needs into consideration. No one knows them so well or is so vitally concerned with them as are the members of that community. Their participation in the management of the local employment office through the Local Employment Committee[1] and their partial support of it, would put that knowledge to work through the medium of the office. In all probability the federal officials assigned to the office, coming possibly from without,[2] and responsible to so remote an authority as the federal government, would not only be unfamiliar with local conditions but might be indifferent to them.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the fact that the superintendent of the local office and his examiners are the pivots around which the whole employment mechanism revolves. The relationship between them and the clientèle of the office—that is, between the office and both workers and employers on the one hand, and the office and the community at large on the other—is an intimate and delicate one. Indifference on the part of the staff, their unresponsiveness or lack of a spirit of service, would necessarily doom the office to failure. The influence on the staff of a local employment committee, together with some feeling of responsibility to local authorities, would stimulate their interest and effort in the development of the office.

On the other hand the tendency of exclusively federal control, it is argued, would be to impose upon the community a stereotyped institution bound in red tape and not necessarily adapted to peculiar local needs. Overformalism and bureaucracy are likely to dominate any highly centralized organization. The center from which policies, procedure, and authority flow is too far removed from its extremities for executives to be able to visualize

[1] See pages 213–226 for description and discussion of these committees.

[2] Apportionment clause of Federal Civil Service Act, Washington, January, 1883, Statute, 403, p. 5.

varying needs. Moreover, force is dissipated in transmission—in transmission which can only infrequently be through personal contact and must therefore depend chiefly upon written or printed communications. The extremities, or the local offices, it is alleged, would become devitalized and unresponsive even to local stimuli. In order to function properly the office must be adapted to meet the varying demands of each community. These are not general but specific requirements and should receive special attention. The methods employed to promote an office in Topeka would undoubtedly vary radically from those employed to promote an office in Butte or Detroit. Again, in the placement of juveniles, the problem of gaining the co-operation of school authorities and of devising workable methods would differ in Boston from those in Pittsburgh or in Los Angeles. Only through local participation in the administration of the office is there likely to be any adequate understanding of local problems or the development of a technique to meet them.

The assumption by the community of a share in the financial responsibility for the public employment office located therein, accompanied by representation in its management, engenders an interest and sense of proprietorship in it on the part of all the people. "It helps to boost the office," said the city manager of Dayton. "When people are paying taxes to support an institution, they are going to find out what it's like. Then, too, our Director of Public Welfare keeps a friendly eye on the office to see that it is managed properly, and naturally does a good deal to promote it."

Contact between the office staff and the local employment committee, as already suggested, quickens the former's sense of responsibility to the town and makes for a more efficient administration. The Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee, meeting every month to audit bills, authorize expenditures, and discuss the accomplishment of the office for the preceding month, insures better planned and more alert activity on the part of the office staff than would otherwise be likely.

Finally, participation by the local community in the support and management of the office satisfies that primary instinct of self-government which, as a nation, we have attempted to foster.

The local nature of the employment problem and the desirable aspects of local participation in the operation of an employment office bespeak state rather than exclusively federal administration. The community in any such participation is but acting as the agent of the state. The same advantages attributed to local participation in managing the affairs of the office, that is, to decentralization, are applicable in large measure to state control as against exclusively federal control. The degree of decentralization in local participation is carried but one step farther than in state administration.

Larger Total Appropriation

In addition to the arguments that the political rights of the state and the local nature of the employment problem demand a federal-state-local administration of a nation-wide employment service, it is urged that such a joint administration would make possible a greater total appropriation than would otherwise be available. This assumes that Congress would not be likely to grant an amount equal to the requirements of an adequate national service, an assumption which may be debatable.

The amounts contributed by the municipalities, and in a few instances by the counties in Wisconsin and Ohio, have made possible a progressively more extensive and efficient service. So the contributions from local governments and the appropriations made by the states, together with that from the federal government, would in all probability amount to a larger sum than the federal government alone would appropriate.

The Present Operation of State and Municipal Offices

From a practical standpoint, one of the most weighty reasons in behalf of a federal-state-local administration is the fact that states and municipalities are already in the field grappling with the problem. They are already operating their own offices; some have been doing so for over thirty years. As previously indicated, 26 of the 32 states that have enacted statutes creating public employment offices are now operating one or more such offices. Although a number of municipal bureaus have recently sprung up, they are not likely to be a vital factor. The tendency, however,

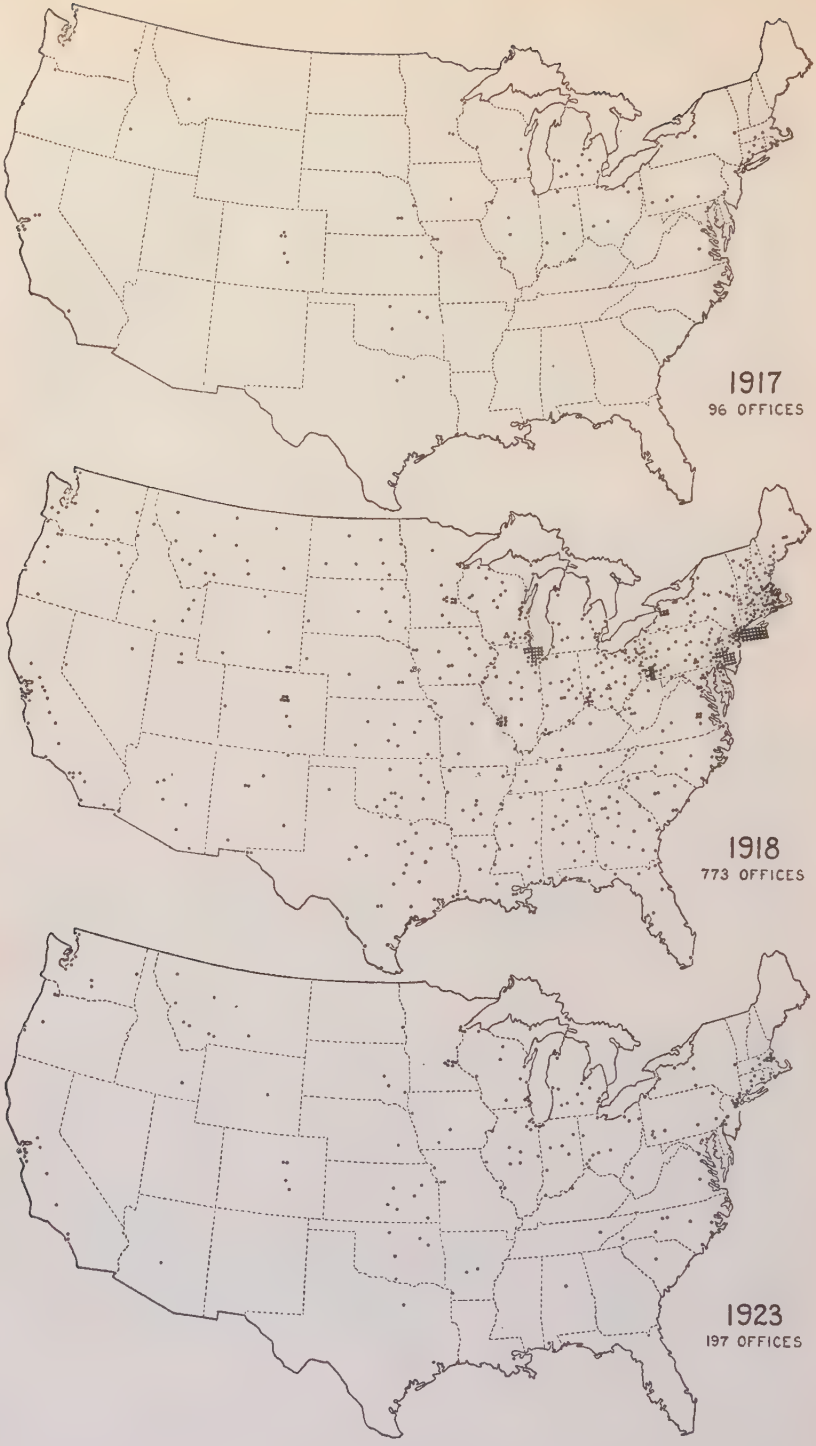
of the municipality to support its office jointly with the state, is, as we have pointed out, growing and an altogether desirable tendency.

However impoverished and ineffectual some of the state employment offices may have been and still are, those in charge are quite unwilling to relinquish their control of them. Nor is this unwillingness a passive attitude. As was so clearly demonstrated in connection with the United States Employment Service, any attempt on the part of the federal government to absorb the state offices would meet with belligerent opposition from certain factions of the states' electorate.

The failure of the United States Employment Service at the very outset and for seven critical months to define any clear-cut policy of administration, together with its headlong plunge into the establishment and operation of local employment offices, created great suspicion and smouldering opposition on the part of those states and municipalities which were already maintaining their own offices. It is true that early in its career, some six weeks following its establishment, the Service initiated the appointment of state directors with a view to federating all existing public offices. According to this plan, state and municipal bureaus were not to lose their identity; they were not to be absorbed by the Service. It was not long, however, before the question arose as to precisely who was to administer the existing state and city offices. The respective state or municipal authorities, the federal director of the United States Employment Service for the state, or the Washington office of the Service?

In a few instances where the state bureaus were recognized as leaders in the public employment office movement, the United States Employment Service appointed as directors the state officials already in charge of these state systems, men of leadership and vision with a knowledge of the problem. While the centering in them of the responsibility for the entire service within their respective states enabled the machinery to run smoothly, it by no means effaced the self-consciousness of the state services as such.

Where the federal director was *persona non grata* to the state régime, co-operation between the state and federal services was only nominal.


1917
96 OFFICES
1918
773 OFFICES
1923
197 OFFICES

Though in one state the administrative office as well as the main placement offices of both the state and federal services were housed together, each service maintained independently its own administrative staff, its own examiners, even its own advisory board. "Dual authority" was rampant. Yet, as a matter of fact, all local offices of the state system did utilize the United States Employment Service signs, the forms prescribed, and for a time at least made out the required reports.

According to one of the federal directors: "The State Employment Bureau people were sore because they were not running the Service in this state. When they refused to play, we just had to invade their territory. We had to get men and their service simply couldn't do it."

In another state where there wasn't even a vestige of co-operation, the State Labor Commissioner related: "When the United States Employment Service sent a representative in here to talk things over with me, the first question I asked him was, 'Who's to be the final authority?' and when he replied, 'The Director General in Washington,' I said 'Thumbs down.' "

Of the situation in this state a representative of the United States Employment Service stated: "The only way it would have been possible for the United States Employment Service to get the state offices here to co-operate was to have made the state Labor Commissioner, Federal Director of the Service for this state. He is an arch politician—has the reputation of making and breaking kings. And his employment offices! Soft berths for his political henchmen! Desirable as a unified system would have been, it just wasn't worth the price!"

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1917, 1918, AND 1923

The maps on the opposite page show the distribution of public employment offices in the United States in 1917, just before the organization of the United States Employment Service; at the height of the development of the Service during the war; and in 1923. For further data concerning the growth of employment offices in the United States see table on page 624.

In the South and West where few state employment offices had been created, the war emergency service operated as a purely federal agency, free from the jealousy and antagonism of competing state offices.

Very bitter opposition, it may safely be assumed, would be organized by practically every state already maintaining public employment offices against any attempt to institute an exclusively federal service. The truth of this statement has been demonstrated in a number of states. Particularly are organized employers hostile to what they commonly term "federal control of the labor market."

V. CONCLUSION

So much for the two types of administration for a nation-wide employment service. Centralized control presents a strong appeal for comparatively sound organization and administration. But it is a fact that the United States is not a virgin field in so far as public employment offices are concerned. Existing conditions must be taken into account in the choice of these alternatives. And when these practical considerations are taken into account, in our opinion the balance of weight belongs on the side of federal-state-local administration.

The Weight of Opinion

Economists and those interested in economic problems have doubtless given more thought to a consideration of these two alternative types of public employment service administration than have any other single group. Of eleven representative economists whose opinion was secured, nine unequivocally advocated federal-state-local control and but two exclusively federal control. However, out of a total number of 434 votes cast by members of the National Economic League, 290, almost exactly two-thirds, favored, and 144 opposed a proposal that public employment offices should be established by the federal government and co-ordinated throughout the country.[1]

The majority of employers interviewed in our study were opposed

[1] The Labor Problem of the United States, a Questionnaire. National Economic League, October, 1919.

to an exclusively federal service, though individual employers favored it. These latter were found particularly in the West, in states which had established no employment offices of their own; they were very cordial in their support of an exclusively federal service.

On the other hand, the resolution adopted by the National Association of Manufacturers, one of the most representative of employers' organizations, at their meeting in New York in 1919, reads: " . . . The placing of unemployed persons so far as it is a public function belongs to the individual states and can be more efficiently performed by them. . . ."[1]

A representative of one of the national employers' associations voiced the attitude of many of the employers interviewed when he stated: "I suppose the federal government has got to come in on any nation-wide employment service; but it should come in as little as possible. We believe that the states should run their own services. You see we can get at the states more easily. It's a much tougher proposition to do anything with the federal government."

The National Industrial Conference Board believes that the administration of an employment service "is not a normal function of federal authority"; the Iowa Employers' Association that federal administration of such a service is a "step toward socialism"; and the Hawaii Chamber of Commerce that it is "an entering wedge to exclusive government control of industrial relations."

Further, a committee representing employers operating in a southern pine territory, in a protest against the movement of colored labor by the United States Employment Service, states: "The government is injecting its federal authority into a field of domestic right not contemplated by our form of government."

Notwithstanding the protest of organized employers generally against an exclusively federal service, comparatively few of those interviewed objected as individuals to some participation by the federal government in the administration of a nation-wide employment service. They were, as a rule, cognizant of both the necessity and the desirability of such participation.

Organized labor appears also to favor a federal-state service.

[1] Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, 1919, New York, p. 284.

The American Federation of Labor in the report of its committee on education, the National Women's Trade Union League, and the various state federations, among them those of New York and Illinois, have advocated federal-state control. On the other hand, the labor representatives interviewed, with the exception of those holding state offices or serving as members of advisory boards attached to state employment bureaus, declared themselves almost unanimously for an exclusively federal as against a federal-state service.

"Why monkey around any longer with these picayunish state employment offices?" said one of the best known labor leaders in the country. "They don't amount to a row of pins, at least here; and I doubt if, in this state at any rate, they ever will. The federal government alone can put the offices on their feet."

It is only to be expected that the employes of the state services would express themselves in favor of federal-state administration as against exclusively federal. A few were frankly enthusiastic about the changes that had occurred after the state offices had entered into co-operation with the United States Employment Service. According to the head of the women's division of one of the state offices, "We've had an entirely different type of applicant since we combined with the United States Employment Service. It's not nearly so hard to find them jobs."

Again, the employes of the United States Employment Service in states where there was little if any co-operation between it and the state services, were hostile to joint administration.

Additional evidence of the attitude toward federal and federal-state-local administration is to be had in the suggested and formally introduced federal legislation for the establishment of a nation-wide employment service—proposed legislation which has commanded a considerable volume of support. The Murdock Bill, introduced in 1914, provided for the establishment by the federal government of a national bureau of employment to be located in Washington, together with branch offices in the important industrial and commercial cities throughout the country, and for the co-operation of these with "state, municipal, and private employment agencies." Introduced almost simultaneously with the Murdock Bill was the MacDonald Bill, which proposed the

utilization of post offices as employment exchanges. The latter would have entailed a more strictly federal service than the former.

Frances A. Kellor, in her study of unemployment, presents the draft of a bill advocating a federal service which may enter into agreement with any local government for the purpose of establishing municipal employment offices.[1] The Robinson-Keating, the Kenyon-Nolan, and the most recent Nolan Bill have all provided for a federal-state service.

Considerations of Expediency also Support the Conclusion

Whichever proves finally the more desirable, an exclusively federal or a federal-state-local employment service, it is commonly conceded that the former is not at present feasible; and with this we are in agreement. To think that Congress, either now or in the immediate future, would appropriate $10,000,000 for an employment service, an amount estimated as necessary to provide an adequate basis, is an idle dream. Expediency demands federal-state-local administration. We must begin with what we have. "I do not believe," says Royal Meeker, formerly Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and a student of the problem, "that we can go to the top of the mountain in one step. We have got to go step by step. It's a long rocky road to go to get to the top of this particular mountain, because there is a tremendous force of inertia in this country."[2] And he might have added opposition. For the opposition to federalism which has followed in the wake of the far-reaching control exercised by the federal government during our participation in the World War is, indeed, strong.

It seems clear then that for some time to come our efforts must be directed toward the promotion of a federal-state-local service. On this basis we shall therefore next discuss its structural organization.

[1] Kellor, Frances A.: Out of Work: A Study of Unemployment, p. 513.

[2] Hearing before the Committee of Labor, House of Representatives, Sixty-fourth Congress, on House Report 5783, 1916, p. 42.

CHAPTER VIII

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND TERMS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES

IN THE preceding chapter the relationship between the federal and state governments in their co-operative administration of a nation-wide employment service has been indicated.[1] But any working arrangement between these two units of government must necessarily be based on a definite and detailed understanding of what each is to do. In Canada, for example, the Dominion and provincial governments enter into formal contracts in which the terms to be fulfilled by each are clearly and specifically set forth. Inasmuch as a practical proposal suggesting a basis of agreement and division of responsibility is embodied in the Kenyon-Nolan Bill, which represents the most far-reaching legislative effort to establish a nation-wide public employment service in this country, it appears simplest to discuss the question largely in terms of that proposal.

I. THE MINIMUM RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

First, let us consider the duties and obligations which seem logically to fall to the federal government. In general terms its function in the operation of a system of state employment services is co-ordinative and promotive. Its task is to weld the various state services into a nation-wide system that will as far as possible operate as a unit; to assist states which have none to establish employment services, and to induce those which have services to make them continuously more effective. The means by which the federal government carries out its co-ordinative and promotive function is but a more specific definition of these duties.

[1] For details regarding the relationship between the state and local governments also, see pp. 208 and 121–123.

As to what constitutes the minimum obligations to be discharged by the federal government there is fairly general agreement among those in favor of an adequate public employment service. The Employment Service of Canada and the Kenyon-Nolan Bill both provide that the federal government shall

1. Establish an interstate (interprovincial in the case of Canada) clearance system.
2. Establish and maintain a certain minimum uniformity in policies and procedures.[1]
3. Pay to the states (provinces) upon their compliance with the conditions agreed upon, certain fixed sums of money.
4. Establish a system of inspection of state (provincial) offices.

Provision one is indispensable to the working of a nation-wide employment service. Interstate clearance constitutes the chain which joins the state services together into a system. Provision two is also indispensable. As previously indicated, a certain minimum standardization in policy and procedure is essential to the carrying on of any organization between the units of which there is systematic exchange or functioning.[2] And, again, it must be emphasized that this uniformity is stipulated as a minimum one so as not to deprive the states of initiative or experimentation in developing their employment services. Provision three will be discussed below. Provision four is conditioned by and automatically follows provision three. Inspection is the method employed by the federal government to determine whether or not the minimum requirements prescribed have been fulfilled by the state services receiving federal aid.[3]

The Question of Federal Aid

In the United States the federal government is subsidizing the states in the following functions: agricultural extension, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, highway construction, maintenance of the national guard, prevention of forest fires, prevention of venereal disease, and maternity and infancy hygiene.

[1] The Canadian statute read, "promote uniformity of methods."

[2] See pages 143–144.

[3] For a fuller discussion of the question of inspection see Chapter XI, Organization of the Federal Office, pages 204–206.

While much of the legislation providing aid to the states for the performance of these functions is of comparatively recent date, the beginning of such legislation antedates the Constitution. Grants of public land for educational purposes were made by Congress under the Articles of Confederation.[1] Recent subsidy legislation, however, is differentiated from the earlier legislation in two ways: first, in the supervision exercised by the federal government over the expenditure by the states of its grants, and by its power to discontinue them if the standards prescribed are not maintained; second, in the provision that the federal money allotted to any state shall be paid only on condition that for each dollar of federal money expended there shall be expended by the state at least an equal amount of state, local or other money for the same purpose.

The question of federal aid to undertakings such as public employment work, which as here pointed out should be chiefly a state responsibility, is one which reaches deep into our ideas and theories of government and one to which much thought has been given. Substantial arguments and authorities of high standing are to be found on both sides of the issue. On the one hand is the feeling that action by the 48 states on matters of national importance can be secured much more easily if federal aid is given; while on the other hand the objection is met that a stimulus to such action is an encroachment upon the rights of the states and is not in accord with the spirit of the Constitution, nor with the increasing emphasis which is being placed upon the decentralization of responsibility and power in social, civic, and governmental affairs. Again, advocates of federal aid argue that it tends to equalize the tax burdens of the several states, while opponents say that it stimulates reckless appropriations by Congress. It is claimed that federal aid will insure in all the states accepting it the adoption of national minimum standards that are indispensable in the national interest; and against this is the claim that it will build up a top-heavy and inefficient bureaucracy in Washington. It is argued further that such aid insures a relatively economical expenditure of federal funds and prevents their misuse,

[1] Thompson, Walter: Federal Centralization, p. 142. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923.

while on the other hand the argument is advanced that such aid leads to the plundering by the states and localities of the national treasury for purely local purposes.

The merits or demerits of the broad question of federal aid were regarded as outside our present inquiry. But quite apart from the merits or demerits of the question in general, practical considerations in getting a nation-wide system of public employment offices started point to the desirability of federal aid for them. The nation as a whole is continuously interested in having the service function on a country-wide basis. To accomplish this a certain amount of interstate employment work needs to be done. And this work is not entirely provided for by the establishment on the part of the federal government of interstate clearance services. Thus, to be able to participate in such a service requires that definite clearance provisions be made by the state services themselves. The states ordinarily are not inclined to make appropriations for such purposes. Interstate questions are regarded as matters of special concern to the federal authorities; and this national aspect of the question is believed to be justification in this particular case for the federal government's assuming part of the cost. Sooner or later the states may be willing to carry the full cost of their own part in the Service, but it is not believed that a sufficient number of them will do so at the beginning to make the Service effective on a nation-wide basis.

The consensus of opinion among those people in the United States who have given disinterested thought to the problem and whose views we have been able to ascertain, is that only with the help of federal co-operation and subsidies can an effective system of public employment offices be established and developed. Canada's experience clearly points in that direction.

Lacking any scientific basis for determining the amount of aid the federal government should pay the states in the development of an adequate national employment service, the Kenyon-Nolan Bill follows the dollar-for-dollar precedent. At present the appropriations made by the states for public employment offices, much larger as they are than before our entrance into the World War, are still so extremely meager that they must be supplemented if we are to have an effective service. It is generally agreed that

for this purpose the amount to be contributed by the federal government should be at least equivalent to that already provided by the states.

Federal Aid to the Employment Service of Canada

The provision for federal aid in the administration of the Employment Service of Canada varies somewhat from the foregoing. The Employment Offices Co-ordination Act of 1918, which established the Employment Service of Canada, carried with it an appropriation for 1918 of $50,000 for the entire Dominion; for 1919, of $100,000;[1] and for each succeeding year, of $150,000. The act specifies that the Dominion appropriation for each year shall be distributed among the provinces in the proportion which the expenditure of each province for public employment offices bears to the total expenditures for this purpose made by all the provinces, but the sum allotted to any one province must not exceed one-half of the total amount expended by it from its own treasury on the operation of its service.

In order to meet the employment service needs of the returned soldiers and sailors a total of $250,000 was appropriated by the Dominion government for the year 1919–20. If the total employment service expenditures made by all the provinces amounted during that year to $500,000, and that by Ontario alone to $100,000, Ontario would receive one-fifth of the $250,000 appropriation, or $50,000. If Quebec spent $50,000 on its service it would be entitled to one-tenth, or $25,000. Thus, as just stated, the amount granted by the Dominion government to any provincial employment service may not be more than one-half of the provincial appropriation, or more than one-third of the combined provincial and Dominion appropriations for this purpose. It was the desire of the Dominion government at the time the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act was passed to assume 50 per cent of the total cost of operating the provincial services, but fear lest this might involve it in future expenditures which would exceed any appropriation the Dominion government might be able to vote, led to this more limited provision.

[1] Supplemented in 1919 by an additional appropriation of $150,000.

Time of Paying Federal Aid

The Kenyon-Nolan Bill specifies that the prescribed amount of money should be paid to the state when it has made an appropriation for the maintenance of an employment service in co-operation with the federal government. Thus, federal aid is, initially at least, to be paid in advance of actual expenditure by the state for public employment office purposes. In the United States this has been the practice in the administration of federal aid for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation and other functions. The federal money allotted to any state is deposited in the treasury of that state as soon as the act has been accepted by the state and plans for its administration have been approved by the proper federal authorities. This practice makes it possible for the states to draw upon federal funds at the earliest possible moment.

Here again the method differs from that employed in Canada. Disbursements are made by the Dominion government quarterly upon its audit of the expenditures made by the provincial governments. Thus, the aid is not advanced as it has been in this country, but is paid after actual expenditures. It may be withheld on disapproval, for due cause, of any of the items on which the agreement specifies Dominion aid may be spent.

The power which this method gives to the Dominion Service over the provincial Service is considerable. It exacts fulfilment of the conditions before it pays any money whatever to the provincial services. Quarterly audit and payment entail such close supervision over expenditures that the provinces cannot, for more than three months at least, operate their services at variance with the policies and procedure laid down by the Dominion Service without incurring a complete or partial loss of their grant-in-aid.

Moreover, the items for which the Dominion grants can be expended are specified in the contract between the Dominion and provincial governments. For 1920 they were as follows:

Salaries and traveling expenses of the general superintendent, and of full-time, permanent, and temporary members of the staffs of the employment service of the province;

Rent, heat, light, water service, office supplies (not including

furniture), telephone, telegraph, postal expenses, and janitor service for employment and separate clearance offices;

Advertising in newspapers and periodicals and by billboards and posters, not exceeding 10 per cent of the total expenditure of the provincial appropriation, provided the provincial Service be designated "Employment Service of Canada" with possible amplifications;[1]

Standard signs, window lettering, and stationery as agreed upon;

Payment of advances for transportation of workers left unrefunded by employers or men up to 10 per cent of the total advances made by the offices during the year;

University or other courses for the training of employment office staffs as may be agreed upon, means to advance efficiency in employment offices and to promote interest in employment problems; and finally,

Such alterations in employment office premises as may be agreed upon.

II. OTHER FUNCTIONS WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MAY PERFORM

In addition to the four obligations indicated[2] and largely accepted as the minimum responsibilities to be discharged by the federal government in the operation of a nation-wide public employment service, there are a number of others to be considered. Some have been merely proposed; others are already a part of the practice in Canada.

Establishing and Maintaining a System of Employment Offices in States Providing None

There is strong opposition on the part of some students of public employment office administration as well as by organized groups of employers to the operation of any placement offices whatever by the federal government. This, they argue, would be an undue extension of federal authority and a direct interference with states' rights.

[1] For example, the official stationery for the Service in Ontario is headed:
Ontario Government Employment Bureau
Employment Service of Canada

[2] See page 165.

On the other hand, a thoroughgoing nation-wide system of public employment offices requires that there be at least one general office with provision for interstate clearance in practically every state. The failure of any state to provide this minimum would mean a missing link in a chain of state services. It is indeed doubtful if, within a reasonable period, any state would be so unprogressive as not to take advantage of at least the minimum aid offered by the federal government. But if such a case did occur, it would seem as if the federal government in the interest of the national organization of the labor market should itself establish and maintain an employment service within such area. This would be done rather in the nature of a demonstration to the state of the value of the service than as a permanent measure; and every effort would be made to have the offices taken over by the state as soon as it could or would meet the conditions prescribed. The Kenyon-Nolan Bill recognizes such action as within the province of the federal government.

The government of the Dominion of Canada, by a special order-in-council, granted the Minister of Labor authority to establish and maintain for a period of eighteen months such employment bureaus as might be necessary to the three maritime provinces. The latter did not feel that they could afford the expense entailed. In the discussion preceding the enactment of this order it was suggested that the administration of these offices might, later, "if thought advisable be taken over by the provincial governments."[1] On the expiration of the eighteen months, Nova Scotia voted to take over its offices. In New Brunswick three of the cities, in accordance with the 1920 amendment to the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act,[2] have arranged with the Dominion Service to maintain offices. And the New Brunswick government has agreed to defray twenty-five per cent of the expenditures on employment

[1] The *Labour Gazette*, Ottawa, January, 1919, p. 55.

[2] This amendment enables the Minister of Labour to "set aside from the amount appropriated such sums as may seem desirable for the maintenance of employment offices other than those operated by provincial governments; Provided that, before any such employment office is assisted under this act the Minister shall be satisfied that the provincial government concerned does not propose to establish or maintain employment offices in accordance with this Act within a reasonable time, and provided further that the sum so set aside shall be allotted to such employment offices in the manner prescribed by sub-section of this section."

offices established by municipalities in the province.[1] Thus Prince Edward Island alone, of all the Canadian provinces, has failed to make any agreement with the Dominion government for public employment offices.

Assisting in the Transportation of Workers

Long-distance placement of workers involves the question of their transportation. Anything the federal government can do to assist the state services in facilitating the transportation of workers when it is in the public interest, will materially aid in an efficient distribution of labor. Provision for such assistance is made by the Kenyon-Nolan Bill, but the method is not specified.

During 1918 and 1919 the federal government did assist in transporting workers by granting the United States Employment Service a revolving fund for advancing fares to workers placed by it. But for the most part requests for transportation were issued by the various state directors to such workers as its local offices placed at a distance. The firms to whom the workers were thus sent underwrote the cost of transportation and remitted the amount due on presentation of the bill. In such cases the revolving fund was not drawn upon. Objection to a revolving fund in time of peace is made by Fred M. Croxton, formerly Federal Director of the United States Employment Service for Ohio, on the ground that it is "hard to administer" and that it "encourages roving."

The British labor exchanges on application, advance fares to workers placed by them at a distance of more than five miles from the exchange or the worker's residence. It is a policy of the exchange, when an advance is applied for, to try to get the employer to agree to repay it. If he refuses, he is then requested to deduct the amount of the advance from the wages of the worker. Failing this, the worker is himself required to agree to repay it.

Also the British labor exchanges grant a reduction on fares in excess of 4 shillings. "In all cases where the full ordinary fare advanced exceeds 4 shillings, the amount receivable from the employer or workman will be 4 shillings plus one-half the excess."[2]

[1] Report of the Department of Labour for 1923, Ottawa, p. 63.

[2] As of April 12, 1920.

During the war and post-armistice period, through the efforts of the Dominion government, nine railways in Canada made a special rate for workers placed at a distance by the Employment Service. Regular fare was charged for any trip less than 116 miles. On all trips of from 117 to 177 miles a flat rate of $4.00 was made, and on all trips over 177 miles a special rate of two and a quarter cents a mile. These special rates were issued to workmen only on presentation of a certificate signed by the employment office superintendent. Also, as already explained, the Dominion government of Canada stipulates in its agreement with the provincial services that Dominion subsidies may be used to cover losses on unrefunded transportation advances up to 10 per cent of the total advances made by their offices during the year. None of the provincial services, however, has used its Dominion aid for this purpose.

In the United States there has been considerable agitation for reduced fares. To secure them involves either the granting of them by the various companies who operate the railroads, or failing this, the provision of the difference between the reduced and regular fare by state and congressional appropriations. The probability in any normal period of the former on any appreciable scale is practically nil, and of the latter, very slight. To permit state services to utilize a certain percentage of its federal aid to cover losses incurred in the advance of transportation, as is the case in Canada, would seem the only practicable method by which the federal government could aid the state services in the transportation of workers placed by them.

Granting the Franking Privilege

From its beginning the United States Employment Service, through its official representative, the State Director, has extended to the state employment services the franking privilege. Provision for this is also made by the Kenyon-Nolan Bill. In Canada, however, the Dominion government makes no such grant to the provincial employment services. Each has to defray its own postal expenses. That this is altogether desirable is the point of view of certain students of the problem in this country; and with this we agree.

"I strongly disapprove," states Henry R. Seager, Professor of Economics at Columbia University, "of the proposal to extend this franking privilege to the state services. The misuse of the franking privilege has become a scandal. Failure to make other departments of the government pay for the services rendered by the post office is a standing barrier in the path of those who would put the post office on a solid business basis. It is undoubtedly true that there are many worse misuses of the franking privilege than would be involved in its extension to the state employment bureaus. I believe, however, that if anything is said under this head it should be a protest against the extension of the franking privilege to any department of government or any government official, and insistence that the post office should be paid for its work for other departments and that the larger appropriations that this would entail, coming back as they would in larger postal receipts, would be a greater contribution to efficient government administration all along the line than any illusory saving that might be effected through the extension of the franking privilege in connection with this new governmental service."[1]

III. ADDITIONAL DUTIES DELEGATED TO THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT IN ADMINISTERING THE CANADIAN EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Four other responsibilities not heretofore mentioned are assigned the Dominion government to be carried out in the administration of the Employment Service of Canada. An order-in-council specifies that it shall be the duty of the Dominion government to:

1. Collect and publish information as to the condition of the labour market.[2]

2. Provide for the co-operation of provincial employment offices and provincial clearing houses with existing non-commercial employment agencies, with a view to the gradual absorption of such agencies.

[1] Correspondence, December 30, 1920.

[2] In November, 1922, following a reorganization of the Employment Service of Canada, all work in the statistics of employment other than those used for administrative purposes by the Service was transferred from it to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The latter is under the authority of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

3. Exercise supervision over private advertising for labor.
4. Print at the expense of the Dominion Department of Labour all forms used by the employment offices.

Until the local employment offices are better equipped to perform their main function, namely, that of bringing together those seeking work and those seeking workers, they should not be burdened, in our opinion, with additional duties.

As to the second and third provisions, co-operation with other non-commercial bureaus, and supervision over private advertising for labor, little if anything has up to date been done by the Dominion Service of Canada to carry them out. Nor in the United States would it, in the beginning at least, be at all practicable to try to enforce them.

In regard to provision four, the Dominion government of Canada prints all forms used by the employment offices. This was also done by our war emergency employment service. It is an effective way to insure uniformity of practice.

IV. THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE STATES

So much for the federal government's share in the administration of a nation-wide system of state employment services. There remains for consideration the terms to be fulfilled by the states in return for federal aid. Here again the experience of Canada has valuable suggestions for us. The following requirements are subscribed to by each of the Canadian provinces receiving Dominion aid:

1. The establishment by each province of a provincial clearance system to provide for the distribution of labor *within* the province, and to co-operate with the federal clearance system in order to distribute labor *between* provinces
2. An endeavor on the part of each province in the operation of its employment offices to fill situations in all trades or occupations and for both male and female workers
3. The institution of local employment service committees representing employers, workers, and local authorities to help guarantee a non-partisan administration of the service
4. The use of a standard name and lettering

5. Compliance by the employment offices in dealing with strikes and lockouts with the following regulations:

"(a) Any employer or association of employers or group or association of workmen may file at an employment office a statement with regard to a strike or lockout existing or threatened, affecting their trade, or a branch of their trade in the district. Any such statement shall be in the form provided for the purpose and shall be signed by a person authorized by the association for that purpose. Such statement shall be confidential except as hereunder provided, and shall only be in force for seven days from the date of filing, but may be renewed within that period for a like period and so on from time to time.

"(b) If any employer who appears to be affected by a statement so filed notifies an employment office of a vacancy or vacancies for workmen of the class affected, the officer in charge shall inform him of the statement that has been filed and give him an opportunity of making a written statement thereon. The officer in charge in notifying any such vacancies to any applicant for employment, shall also inform him of the statements that have been received."[1]

6. The maintenance by the offices of the following business hours:

"Not less than four hours on Saturdays, and not less than eight hours on the other days of the week except Sundays and statutory holidays."

7. The absence of any charge to employers or employes for services rendered by the Employment Service.

8. The return of any reports on the work of the provincial Employment Service that may be issued or requested from time to time.

9. The use by the employment offices and clearing house of such forms and records as may be required or supplied by the federal government.

10. Submission to such inspection as the federal government may require.

These provisions are self-explanatory, and we see no reason why they could not as fully apply to our states as they do to the Canadian provinces.[2] In fact they are generally accepted as the minimum essentials to which the states should agree as their part of the co-operative arrangement. Methods of carrying out such provisions as require consideration are discussed in Part Three.

[1] Regulations issued by the Department of Labour under the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act, December 17, 1918. Ottawa, The *Labour Gazette*, December 23, 1918, p. 3.

Other requirements indicated here are taken from the same issue of The *Labour Gazette* but are paraphrased for the sake of brevity.

For further discussion regarding strikes and lockouts, see pp. 308–309.

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CHAPTER IX

WHERE SHOULD THE FEDERAL FUNCTIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE BE PERFORMED?

I. THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AS ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL FUNCTIONS OF A NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

SO FAR, the activities of the public employment office carried on by the federal government have been administered by the Department of Labor, first through the Bureau of Immigration and later through the United States Employment Service. The control of the latter by the Department of Labor has given rise to a storm of protest from employers generally. The charge is that the Department is organically partisan. This challenges inquiry as to whether there is anything in the manner of its origin or in its purpose which makes for partisanship; and as to the methods of conducting a national employment service either in the Department of Labor or elsewhere in the executive branch of the government that shall assure not only an unmistakably neutral administration but also a reputation for such. As we have already pointed out, non-partisanship is an absolute prerequisite to any satisfactory employment service.

Function of the United States Department of Labor

Of the present executive departments of the federal government, the Department of Labor was the last to be created. After being for ten years an appendage of the Department of Commerce and Labor, it was separated because "this amalgamated representation of interests that are at times in serious conflict proved unsatisfactory."[1] Its purpose as an executive department is "to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment."

[1] First Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, Washington, 1913, p. 9.

There is no gainsaying the fact that wage-earners constitute a special group. The Department of Labor, however, is not the only one of the executive branches of the federal government operated in behalf of particular interests. "When influential economic groups," state Professor Commons and Mrs. Harriman in their discussion of the Department of Labor and class conflicts, "feel that the Government can be of assistance in promoting their interests, they set about to bring political pressure to bear upon Congress to create a Department that will concern itself with their welfare. Thus the Department of Agriculture was created in 1889, largely through the efforts of the National Grange and other farmers' organizations. In the same way the Department of Commerce was created on the petition of the business and manufacturing interests."[1] And the Department of Labor on the petition of labor interests.

According to a recent secretary of labor: ". . . the Department has been administered in all its activities with reference to the just interests of wage-earners and to the promotion of their industrial and social welfare. In that declaration of the organic act there is, of course, no authority to foster, promote or develop for wage-earners any special privileges. Nor has the Department attempted or desired to create or foster special privileges for any one."[2]

Both the statement of the purpose of the Department of Labor and its actual functioning up to date make clear that it is concerned with employers and workers in their employment relations. In a limited sense it serves as the industrial relations service of the whole nation, and employment, of course, is a part of that.

Relation of the Function of the United States Department of Labor to a National Employment Service

It is, therefore, in the achievement of its purpose and with a view to the logical performance of its function that the Department of Labor has laid claim to the right to administer a national employment service. As an industrial mechanism a public em-

[1] Report of John R. Commons and Florence J. Harriman in the Final Report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Washington, 1915, p. 328.

[2] Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, Washington, 1920, p. 25.

ployment service is designed to serve both employers and workers. Emphasis, however, has been laid much more on its possible assistance to workers than to employers. And naturally so, inasmuch as unemployment is a phenomenon far more devastating to workers than shortage of labor to employers. As Beveridge has demonstrated, the supply of and the demand for labor tend in the long run, but only in the long run, to balance each other. Between the two, at any given time there exist continuously specific maladjustments which result in unemployment.[1] "Whatever the demand for labor, the supply tends always and everywhere not to coincide with it, but to exceed it." Unemployment practically never reaches zero. There is ever present what Beveridge terms "the irreducible minimum" of it.[2] As one of the means of reducing unemployment, the establishment of a system of public employment offices is advocated.

It must be clearly understood, however, that an employment service can, in itself, reduce unemployment only to the extent to which it exists because of ignorance of the demand for labor.[3] In so far as such a service succeeds in adequately filling that demand, it is of equal value to employers and applicants alike. But until comparatively recently it has been accepted as an institution of more vital need to workers than to employers. Experience, however, has conclusively indicated that an employment service whose dominant objective is service to workers will play a comparatively insignificant rôle in the world of labor. To serve effectively the needs of the nation an employment service must consider equally both employer and worker. But at this stage of development, because the general conception of it is still influenced by its philanthropic origin, when its benefit was mainly to workers, the service must accentuate and demonstrate its usefulness to employers. The facts must be faced squarely. Without the whole-hearted support of employers, the service cannot fulfil its purpose. These considerations, contend those who see the federal Department of Labor as an agency working for labor and

[1] Beveridge, W. H.: Unemployment, A Problem of Industry, p. 14.

[2] Ibid., p. 70. See also pp. 6–10 of the present volume.

[3] That such a service will bring its weight to bear on regularizing industry and in stimulating the construction of public works when unemployment is severe, is taken for granted.

against employers, logically places the administration of a national employment system beyond the pale of that Department alone.

Effect of the Secretary of Labor's Personal Affiliations

But there is a fact more directly responsible for the opposition of employers to a service as administered by the Department of Labor than even that of its original purpose. This is the knowledge that its first and wartime secretary (1913–21) was a representative of organized labor. For twenty-nine years previous to 1913 a federal bureau of labor had existed in some form or other.[1] Originally in 1884 it was established as a bureau in the Department of the Interior, where it remained four years. From 1888 to 1903 it functioned as an independent unit in charge of a commissioner; and from 1903 to 1913, as a bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor. Never during all this period was its chief a representative of the organized wage-earners. When, however, through their efforts the Bureau of Labor was raised in 1913 to cabinet rank and a member of the labor group was made its head, it was quite naturally assumed that the policies of the Secretary would reflect his sympathies, and that the Department would be conducted in the interest of the particular group with which he was affiliated. While such an assumption is not justified it is unlikely that it can be overcome.

Whether the employment service has or has not been administered impartially, is more or less beside the point. Its association with the Department of Labor, and through the secretary of the Department with organized labor, has been enough to mark it in the mind of employers as a partisan agency. This in itself is sufficient to render its effective development in that Department in the immediate future well-nigh impossible.

Employment Service in Other Countries Assigned to Department of Labor

Precedent for the administration of a national employment service by the Department of Labor or its corresponding unit is furnished by the great majority of countries operating a national employment service. In those having parliamentary forms of

[1] Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, Washington, 1920, pp. 11–17.

government the opportunity for partisanship by the Ministry of Labour in the administration of the Employment Service or of any other service operating between conflicting interests does not exist as it does in the United States. "For the good reason," state Professor Commons and Mrs. Harriman in the report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, "that the cabinet officer who enforces the labor laws is a member of Parliament, and Parliament must be dissolved and a new election ordered if the cabinet loses control. Having a seat on the floor of the legislature he must answer questions put by the opposition. If one of his subordinates is inefficient or takes sides aginst employers or unions, some one in particular is liable to rise and demand explanations, and the cabinet member is compelled to explain and to stand by the subordinate or to repudiate him. The opposition may even be able to defeat the ministry and get a new election. Consequently, cabinet officers are responsible to Parliament, and although they are partisans and politicians, they are careful that their subordinates, who actually administer the laws, shall be impartial and efficient. In no other country, governed by a parliament, would such important boards as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, or the state railroad and public utility commissions, be taken out from under the jurisdiction of a responsible cabinet minister. In this country it is found necessary to make them wholly or partly independent because there is no officer directly responsible to the legislature or the people who can be given control over them.

"The same is true of the labor departments of parliamentary countries compared with such departments in the American State and Federal Governments. The issues in this country are too vital and menacing, they are too easily turned into political capital, and at the same time the politicians in charge are too little responsible to the legislatures, to Congress, and to the voters for the American people to leave them in the hands of partisan or political officials."[1]

It is with the administration of the public employment services

[1] Final Report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Washington, 1915, pp. 333–334.

of Great Britain and of Canada by their respective Ministries of Labour, and their suggestions for us, that we are here most concerned.

In Great Britain

The original act of 1909 creating the British labor exchanges placed them under the jurisdiction of the Board of Trade, which at that period corresponded to our Department of Commerce and Labor. Any assumption that this Board provides for an administration representing employers and employes may be immediately dismissed. As a Board it has functioned only nominally. The president, a regular member of the ministry as well as of the House of Commons, in the decisions of the Board, constitutes a quorum, and all executive authority is vested in him. According to an eminent student of government the Board of Trade is one of a number of boards which in practice are "legal phantoms that provide imaginary colleagues for a single responsible minister."[1]

Subsequently, upon the creation of the Ministry of Labour very late in 1916 as a war measure, jurisdiction over the labor exchanges and national insurance (unemployment) was transferred to it. But during the war it was not charged with all of the activities concerned with the recruiting and distribution of labor. Many of these were delegated to other ministries, particularly to those of munitions and national service. The Ministry of Labour, therefore, through its employment exchanges did not face the task which confronted our Department of Labor, where all such responsibility was concentrated in its employment service.

"Born of the war," the British Ministry of Labour, it has been stated, was really "created as a sop to organized workers." Its first minister was a labor member of Parliament as well as a trade unionist, as was also the second. The third, Sir Robert Horne, was an attorney. Later, under the Lloyd George administration he became in turn President of the Board of Trade and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The fourth minister had been at one time president of the National Union of Teachers; the fifth had no union affiliations; the sixth, a member of the Labour government, is a trade unionist.

[1] Lowell, A. Lawrence: The Government of England, p. 84. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908.

Whatever the relation of organized workers to the origin of the British Ministry of Labour, the labor exchanges themselves have apparently succeeded in establishing a reputation for neutrality which even their very close relationship with unions in the administration of unemployment insurance has not affected.

In Canada

Much older than the British Ministry of Labour, and also administering its national employment service, is the Canadian Department of Labour. Although the functions which it performs correspond in general to those of our own Department of Labor, it was created for a much more limited purpose. To quote from the act: "With a view to the dissemination of accurate statistical and other information as to the conditions of labour, the Minister shall establish and have charge of a Department of Labour."[1] In practice, however, the Department performs other than statistical functions. It is responsible for the administration of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act, the Technical Education Act, and the Government Annuities Act. It also prepares fair wages conditions in connection with the execution of government contracts; provides a conciliation service; and publishes The *Labour Gazette*.

In the twenty years during which the Dominion Department of Labour has existed, it has had but four ministers, of which only the two last have been representatives of the organized workers.

In the administration of its other functions, as well as in that of the Employment Service, the Canadian Department of Labour has from all indications enlisted the goodwill of both employers and workers.

The freedom from charges of partisanship in the case of the Ministry of Labour's administration of the Employment Service in Great Britain and in Canada, as contrasted with the situation in this country, is to be accounted for largely by the fact that the Ministers of Labour in the former countries are more directly responsible to Parliament and the people than is our Secretary of Labor.

[1] Report of the Department of Labour for year ended June 30, 1901, Ottawa, p. 7.

II. ALTERNATIVE AGENCIES FOR ADMINISTERING THE FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE FUNCTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

As an alternative to the Department of Labor, three other projects for administering an employment service in the United States have been suggested. First, that an independent commission, similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission, be appointed for the purpose. Second, that the service, under a single head, be made directly responsible to the President. Third, that the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce, with a possible third member to prevent a deadlock, govern the employment service.

An Independent Commission

The first proposal, that is, of an independent commission of, say, three or more members, has been advanced not only by employers but by some of our most able students of industrial relations. They contend with Professor Commons that no permanent government agency whose activities are essentially concerned with industrial relations can be satisfactorily administered by any but a body representing the interests of both.

Non-partisanship as well as a reputation for it would most certainly be secured by an independent commission composed of a representative respectively of the public, of employers, and of workers—all appointed by the President.

The members of this commission would not, as in the third proposal, concern themselves only with general policies and supervision of the service, but would divide the performance of the executive functions among themselves. Commissions, however necessary for the performance of legislative and judicial functions, make on the whole poor executives. The tendency in reform government organization is away from them as executives rather than toward them.

Nor is the cost of such a commission to be overlooked. If the members are to be of the desired caliber they must be given a fair if not an adequate recompense. Members of the Interstate

Commerce Commission each receive a salary of $10,000. Moreover, a working staff for each member would be required.

While such a commission provides for a more direct representation of the interests concerned than the board composed of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, and a third member advocated in the third proposal, it does not carry with it any representation in the Cabinet.

An Independent Unit Under a Single Executive Directly Responsible to the President

The second proposal suggested does not in itself as consciously as does a commission provide for non-partisanship or for escape from charges of it. The assumption is that the President in his choice of the executive to head the service could hardly fail to select a person who would assure a neutral régime.

Again, this type of organization would be more likely to attract an executive qualified to administer the service than would the other proposals. Direct responsibility to the President, the actual size of the task, and the possibility of an equitable salary are all important factors in inducing competent men to consider such an appointment. "The minimum salary which could reasonably be proposed for the sort of executive ability required," states Professor Seager, "would be ten thousand dollars."

Then, too, the centering of responsibility in some one person has its administrative advantages. It is fixed and cannot be shifted, as is likely when it is distributed among three members of a commission. Procedure is comparatively simplified and performance expedited.

Adversely, it is argued, first, that representation in the Cabinet is not provided for; and secondly, that the creation of a distinct executive department for the performance of a single function so closely correlated with others would be a signal of retrogression to that "ramshackle" form of administrative organization which has characterized the executive branch of our state governments—and is costly, unwieldy, inefficient—and away from which many states have been striving to move. Moreover, it is altogether improbable that Congress would approve the legislation that this proposal would involve.

A Board Composed of the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Agriculture

The third and last proposal is but a variation of the first. It assumes that the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce by virtue of their office represent respectively workers and employers in their employment relations. This is true of the Department of Labor, but less so of the Department of Commerce. The latter was in no sense organized to represent employers in their employing capacity. Rather is its function to promote the commerce of the country in its more objective aspects. But of all the executive departments of the government it is true that the Department of Commerce is the one most directly concerned with employers' interests as such. Although its functions are not similar to those of the Department of Labor, it is perhaps quite natural that its secretary should be designated to represent employers in their personnel relations.

It is as a contingency against failure to agree that a third member of the Cabinet, the Secretary of Agriculture, has been suggested to function with the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce. The distribution of farm labor, particularly of harvest labor for the wheat belt, makes the Department of Agriculture vitally concerned in the administration of an employment service. A board so constituted could hardly fail to administer an employment service impartially and to be accredited with so administering it. Both the workers' and the employers' point of view, and that of the public at large would be represented in decisions of broad policy. Executive action would necessarily be delegated to a carefully chosen official responsible to this board of three. Policy would be determined by the board. Thus, it would be in a position to make possible and likely a non-partisan administration.

A second advantage in such a form of organization is the representation which it would give an employment service in the Cabinet. It is hardly possible in the initial organization and promotion of a service to focus too strongly upon it the attention of the chief executives of the government. The problems involved, touching unemployment and an efficiently organized industrial life as they do, require it. In the public mind the service must

be elevated to a place where its true significance will be recognized.

It has been argued that the three secretaries concerned, already have enough to do to manage their own respective departments. The question as to volume of work would probably never arise if the proposal were to include the employment service in any one of the already established departments. In that event it would be assumed, and rightly, that responsibility would largely be delegated to a member of the designated secretary's staff. Likewise would a board of three secretaries delegate a great deal of responsibility to a qualified executive. Under this form of organization it might be possible to pay for and secure an executive whose abilities were commensurate with the task.

While nominally such a board would be vested with authority to administer an employment service, it would itself perform primarily a legislative and a supervisory function, delegating what is generally understood as its executive function to an especially equipped agent.

III. CONCLUSION

Thus, briefly, have we considered as administrators of a national employment service the Department of Labor and the three alternatives: an independent commission; a special unit under a single executive directly responsible to the President; and a board made up of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Agriculture.

Under which of these four plans shall the Employment Service be administered? In view of the procedure and practice in England and Canada the presumption would seem to be in favor of placing the federal responsibility for the Employment Service in the United States Department of Labor; and it is there that it seems most logical, in conformity with approved modern tendencies in governmental administrative organization, to place it. Extended consideration of the question, however, leads to the conclusion that whatever the strict logic of the case, and whatever form it may ultimately take, the practical situation makes it undesirable at the present time for the United States Employment Service to be made a part of the Department of Labor. Neither a national

employment service, nor any other service, should be sacrificed for the sake of uniformity in government organization or approved modern administrative tendencies. The successful functioning of the service is the important object. If, in order to operate with maximum satisfaction to all concerned, to insure a policy of neutrality as well as a reputation for it, a national employment service requires an innovation in organization or even the contradiction of accepted canons, these should be made.

It is agreed that an employment service can function adequately only if it secures the confidence and active support of the employers of this country. "Unless," states Professor Seager, "they voluntarily make use of it in preference to private employment bureaus or methods of employment devised and carried out by their own associations it must fall short of the high purpose we have in mind. Rightly or wrongly, a large proportion of American employers are absolutely convinced that the Department of Labor, headed by a representative of organized labor, is not an impartial agency for the development of this or any other service."

It is an attitude, then, a state of feeling, justifiable or not, rather than the intrinsic merits of the case that in great part decides the question. Whatever the facts, the attitude of employers is such as to make it inadvisable at this time, at least, for the Department of Labor to administer the Employment Service.[1]

Of the alternative plans, the last, that is, the administration of the Service by a board composed of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Agriculture, seems to us much the most feasible for the present. As already suggested, this plan has the advantage of costing less than would an independent commission; it would very probably mean a gain through the delegation of the chief responsibility for the administration of the Service to a qualified executive rather than to have it carried by a commission, which in the nature of the case may prove to be a poor executive; it provides for cabinet representation for the Service; and such a board together with the national representative council proposed in the next chapter and the local ones discussed in connection with the organization of state services, ought to insure beyond possibility of doubt a genuinely non-partisan employment service.

[1] Correspondence of December 30, 1920.

CHAPTER X

A NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE COUNCIL

NON-PARTISANSHIP has become so large an issue in the administration of an employment service in this country that the institution of a national advisory council has been advocated to assist in promoting it. Such a council, in addition to the proposed board to be composed of the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Agriculture, might seem to make the machinery of administration cumbersome. But the importance of non-partisanship requires that the subject be given consideration, and that the experience with advisory councils elsewhere and the methods of making them workable here, be carefully discussed.

I. SENTIMENT REGARDING EMPLOYMENT SERVICE COUNCILS

Those most directly affected in the operation of an employment service, employers and workers, speaking through their representative organizations, both agree not only as to the desirability but even as to the necessity of advisory councils. Early in 1919 when the United States Employment Service was struggling for its continuance, the United States Chamber of Commerce on behalf of employers submitted to its members for referendum vote the following:

> A system of national employment offices, with due provision for co-operation with existing state and municipal systems, can be made, under efficient management and if conducted with due regard to the equal interests of employers and employes in its proper administration, a most helpful agency, but only if all appointments are made strictly subject to the Civil Service Law and rules. Policies governing the conduct of a national system of employment offices should be determined in conjunction with advisory boards,—national, state and local,—equally representative of employers and employes.

The members were asked whether they favored a system of national employment offices conducted in this way, and of the total of 1,050 votes cast by over 400 organizations, 689 favored and 361 opposed this proposition.[1]

For the workers, organized labor has gone on record as follows: "Where Federal, state and municipal employment agencies are maintained, they should operate under supervision of joint committees of trade unionists and employers equally represented."[2]

In our own inquiries into this question the great majority of both employers and workers expressed sentiments favorable to such councils; and this was particularly true among students of labor problems consulted. In addition it will be recalled that the International Labor Conference of 1919, in including in its convention provision for the establishment of a system of public employment offices by each nation which ratifies the provision, states: "Committees which shall include representatives of employers and of workers, shall be appointed to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of these agencies."

II. EXTENT OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICE ADVISORY COUNCILS

This advocacy of employment service councils, national, state and local, is not without foundation in experience, experience gained in this country as well as in Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere.

United States

In the United States both local and state employment office councils have been operated. Local councils, however, have been the more common. Indeed, as a result of their practicability so convincingly demonstrated by Wisconsin, their establishment was made mandatory in New York by the 1914 law, since repealed, and in Pennsylvania. Also in connection with the war emergency

[1] "As the number of votes cast in favor did not equal the necessary two-thirds, the Chamber was not committed to this proposition." It failed of the two-thirds required by only 1 per cent, however.

[2] Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, 1919, p. 77.

employment service they were instituted throughout the country in the form of Community Labor Boards.[1]

Moreover, during 1918 state service advisory boards were widely established as a part of our war employment service machinery. Prior to that time only one such board had been organized, the General Advisory Board of the Illinois Free Employment Offices created in 1915 and still operating. None of the wartime state boards, in so far as we have been able to discover, has survived. Nor does the need for them seem to be as great as for local boards or councils, or a national council. "I do not believe," stated Mr. Croxton, in answer to our inquiry, "that a State Employment Service Board is necessary in times of peace. The National Employment Service Council will determine policy and under the circumstances only third or fourth rate men could as a rule be secured for state boards. When there is a State Industrial Commission a state board would certainly be unnecessary."

We have had no experience in this country with a national employment service council.

Great Britain

It is exclusively with local employment councils or committees, as they are called in Great Britain, that the British Labour Exchanges have had to do. Like our Community Labor Boards, the Local Employment Committees of the British Labour Exchanges were for the most part established during the war, although some had been organized as early as 1910 in accordance with the provision for local advisory trade committees made in the act of 1909 creating the exchanges. When in 1917 operation of the exchanges was transferred from the Board of Trade to the newly established Ministry of Labour, an evaluation was made of them. The conclusion of the evaluation was that some method must be instituted to check their tendency toward institutionalism, to secure a more efficient administration, and to humanize their mechanism in order to gain more effectively for wartime service the confidence and co-operation of local employers and workers.

To this end the Minister of Labour decided "to establish in

[1] For a more detailed discussion of local councils, committees, or boards, see pp. 213–226 of this volume.

connection with the exchanges, local employment committees, representative of employers and work people and entrusted with the widest functions of advice and guidance in connection with the working of the exchanges which are consistent with the responsibility which the Minister must necessarily retain for the work of the Department."

Three hundred and two local employment committees have been established with 7,168 members, of whom approximately 7 per cent are women.[1] As a rule, one local employment committee serves one exchange; but in certain areas where more than one exchange operates, one main local employment committee functions in connection with all exchanges therein, and a sub-committee in connection with each separate exchange.

Canada

Although local and provincial employment service councils were provided for by the order-in-council of December 23, 1918, few have yet been organized in connection with the Employment Service of Canada. On the other hand, as far as we could learn the only national council that has been created anywhere is the Employment Service Council of Canada.

III. THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE COUNCIL OF CANADA

Origin, Purpose, and Membership

It is to the Employment Service of Canada, therefore, that we must turn for experience with a national advisory board. The order-in-council[2] creating it reads:

> To assist in the administration of the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act and to recommend ways of preventing unemployment, the Minister of Labour shall, with the approval of the Governor in Council, establish an Advisory Council to be known as the Employment Service Council of Canada. Such Council shall consist of:
>
> 1 member appointed by each of the Provincial governments
>
> 2 members appointed by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association

[1] Minutes of Evidence, Committee of Enquiry of the Ministry of Labour Into the Work of the Employment Exchanges, 1921, p. 56. London, Government.

[2] Privy Council 3111, December 17, 1918. Amended September 20, 1920.

1 member appointed by the Association of Canadian Building and Construction Industries
2 members appointed by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada
1 member appointed by the Railway Association of Canada
1 member appointed by the Railway Brotherhoods
1 member appointed by the Canadian Lumberman's Association
2 members appointed by the Canadian Council of Agriculture
3 members appointed by the Department of Labour, two of whom shall be women
1 member appointed by the Returned Soldiers
1 member appointed by the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Department.

Thus a full membership of the Council would number 24. Since the provinces delegate as their representative either the Deputy Minister of their Department of Labour or a member of a corresponding department, or the General Superintendent of their Employment Service, 12 of the full 24 members may represent the Employment Service administration, either provincial or Dominion; the other 12, a diversity of interests. It will be observed that employers are represented through appointments from manufacturing and industrial associations; labor through the Trades and Labor Congress and the Railway Brotherhoods; farm interests through the Canadian Council of Agriculture; and so on. Such general superintendents of the provincial service as are not officially designated to the Council, together with other administrative officers of the Dominion Service are invited to attend the meetings of the Council and to participate in its discussions. They have not, however, the power to vote.

Method of Appointment and Term of Office

Each member selected by the group which he represents is appointed by the Minister of Labour for a term of three years and is eligible for reappointment.

Officers and Executive Committee

The officers of the Council are three: a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary. They are elected by a majority vote of the members. Of the first group of officers thus elected in May, 1919,

the chairman was the Deputy Minister of Labour of the Province of Ontario; the vice-chairman, the Vice-President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada; and the secretary, a representative of the Dominion Department of Labour, the Director of the Dominion Employment Service.

In addition to the officers an executive committee has been organized consisting of the three officers and two members. One of the latter is chosen by the Trades and Labour Congress from its representation on the Council; the other by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association from its representatives.

As to its duties, "The Executive Committee," reads the constitution adopted by the Council, "shall have power to enter into negotiations necessary to carry out the wishes of this Council as expressed in resolutions adopted by the Council and to present to the Minister of Labour, Provincial Governments, or others concerned, the resolutions of this Council. The Executive Committee shall give consideration to any questions that may arise between sessions and shall submit their findings to the membership for approval."[1]

Meetings

Meetings of three or four days' duration are held annually, though originally semi-annually, at Ottawa. The secretary of the Council furnishes to each member two weeks before the date of the meeting a docket of the subjects to be discussed. Members are urged to report to the secretary at least three weeks prior to the date of convening, any topics they wish included on the program or any suggestions with regard to the conduct of the meeting.

Status and Functioning

Although, theoretically, the Council is clothed with only advisory power, practically its resolutions are adopted in so far as possible by the Minister of Labour. Nor in practice are important changes in policy or technical procedure inaugurated except by vote of the Council.

Thus it is the practice of the Council to make recommendations not only regarding general policies, but also employment office

[1] Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Employment Service Council of Canada, Ottawa, pp. 51–52. Mimeographed copy, September, 1920.

methods. Discussion of matters of general policy and recommendations in the two first meetings of the Council related to the establishment of provincial and local councils and of special divisions for the handicapped, juniors, and professionals; to interprovincial clearance of jobs; the elimination of fee-charging agencies; reduced transportation and telegraph rates; co-operation with the British Labour Exchange; publicity and other related questions. Discussion and recommendation regarding problems of technique or methods were concerned with forms, terminology, occupational classification, and the like. The necessity for specialization of function within the Council made itself evident at its first meeting. This specialization of function is to be accomplished in part at least by the organization of committees.

At the second meeting of the Council, which two members engaged in this study had the privilege of attending, reports were read of action taken on the recommendations made by the Council at its first meeting. Many had already been put into effect. None was allowed to be tabled without some report.

In considering the work of the Council it must be remembered that the Employment Service of Canada is a Dominion-provincial service. The Dominion government by virtue of its grants-in-aid to the provinces, on their fulfilment of fixed conditions, acts as the co-ordinator of the provincial services. The provinces are independent units which, if they accept such grants, are limited in the control of their service only by their obligation to fulfil the definite conditions prescribed by the Dominion government.

The Council has been a potent factor in determining for the Employment Service of Canada a policy of gradual but very positive development of the Service "from the bottom up"; that is to say, from the local or provincial units toward the nation-wide or Dominion unit. This has been achieved largely through discussion and final agreement by the members, so largely representative of the provinces, as to the conditions of the contract to be fulfilled by both the Dominion and provincial governments, principally by the latter.

Thus to the Dominion government the Council offers a medium for securing a response on its Employment Service program from the provinces as well as from the other non-governmental groups

and spheres of interest represented in its membership. To the provinces it offers a medium for registering their approval or disapproval of the employment service policies, methods, and proposals of the Dominion government, of indicating their various employment needs, and of exchanging experiences with other provinces. To the other members it offers a medium for securing an impartial and efficient conduct of the Service in behalf of the interests which they represent. Altogether, the Council is a mechanism for providing a responsible, responsive, and an increasingly effective administration of the Service. It is also a proclamation of the neutrality of the Service and a vehicle for promoting that neutrality.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF A NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED STATES

With some variations, the principles underlying the organization of the Employment Service Council of Canada could very profitably be applied to any advisory body to be created in this country if a national employment system is developed.

Functions

The prime essential, as our own local and state employment office boards have demonstrated, is the necessity for a clear definition of the function and status of such a council. First and foremost the council should provide for an impartial administration of the Employment Service; also for an efficient administration. Its functions will be legislative and judicial rather than executive. It must act as a policy-making body and a court of appeals, while the responsibility for executing policies and decisions will fall to the chief executive officer of the Service, the Director General.

Such a council might formulate and adopt a five-years' program; make decisions as to the provisions to be included in agreements with the states, in so far as they had not been determined by federal legislation; outline the methods of selecting personnel; the national publicity policy; the budget; the attitude of the Service in times of strike; formulate policies governing the con-

duct of the Service in the states which make no provision for public employment offices, and other similar matters.

As a court of appeals, the council might receive and act upon all complaints or problems referred to it by the Director General or by the states when these latter could not reach a satisfactory agreement with the Director General.

Status

While the status of the council would be officially that of an advisory body, its decisions, if the procedure is properly determined, would almost always be accepted as final. The following comment from an engineer who has been engaged in public service, giving his experience of the value of an advisory body, is pertinent:

> The advisory board, when properly handled, is an inspiration and a help to any public official. I had such a board to assist me in arriving at many of the important decisions as to policy in our department. There was never a vote taken on any question that came before the Board. We could each of us estimate the "sense of the meeting," and I do not recall a single occasion when the action finally taken was contrary to that consensus of opinion. Matters were always so presented that the members of the Board were not called upon to determine detailed questions of fact. They were given the facts as they had been definitely determined previous to discussion. When in our discussions any difference of opinion developed it was usually occasioned by our not having developed sufficient facts. A delay of a week or two, during which some further investigation as to facts was carried on, was usually all that was required to make our views the same. Most people object to serving on committees and largely in my opinion because time is wasted in discussing and voting on opinion which should properly be determined by the facts. A real committee sits to interpret facts.[1]

Composition

The composition of the council offers many possibilities. The representation of necessary and desired interests and the number of members that will make action easy are two important factors in determining its composition. Since the purpose of the council is to afford employers and workers an opportunity to participate in the management of the Service in order that its non-partisanship may be assured, these two groups must be represented.

[1] Cooke, Morris Llewellyn: Our Cities Awake, p. 68.

The question then arises as to whether the state employment services should be represented. Canada would answer in the affirmative and argue that otherwise the council would be serving primarily the federal government in the performance of the limited responsibilities which it has agreed to discharge rather than the entire service; that the general policies adopted should be determined only after all problems of administration have been scrutinized; that state representatives are a potent factor in educating not only the federal government but all other interests concerned in the operation of an employment service.

The fact, however, that there are in this country 48 states to be represented as against nine provinces in Canada; that a member for each state would make the council a very unwieldy body; that if each member had a vote it would destroy the emphasis on employers' and workers' participation unless both of these groups were also present in large numbers, all militate strongly against state representation. As a substitute for such separate representation, state directors might be organized into a group, as an auxiliary to the council, to meet with it at least annually.

There is no question, as in the case of the state service, concerning the representation of the federal service on the national council. The Director General of the Service and his immediate superior officer or officers should be ex officio members. In view of the large number of women workers throughout the country whose interests are affected by the service, the federal government should also be represented in the council by one or more women.

Agriculture from the standpoint of farm labor, and education in its relation to junior workers, and perhaps other interests, might also be represented in the membership of the council.

Since it is generally acknowledged that the more compact and simplified an organization the greater its chances of working successfully, a council of more than 25 members would hardly be feasible.

Methods of Appointment

In all probability a stronger council and one equally representative would be secured if the President were made responsible for appointments rather than the interests concerned. "Not all interests which should be represented," states Mr. Croxton, "are

organized in such a way that representatives could be chosen by them. And, too, those chosen tend to become advocates for the special point of view which they represent."

Tenure of Office

It would be almost impossible for any of the members to become familiar with even the more general aspects of the problems involved in the administration of a national employment service in less than two or three years. Moreover, uniformity of policy, through the presence on the council of persons familiar with what has already been done, is to be desired. The term of appointment, therefore, should be a long rather than a short one. Nor should the term of more than one-third of the members expire during the same year. Each member should be appointed for a term of three years. When the Council is first appointed the members should be divided into three classes so that the terms of an equal proportion of each class will expire in one, two and three years, respectively. Members should be eligible for reappointment when their terms expire. The membership of official representatives of the Federal Service should automatically end when they cease to hold office in the Service.

Officers

The chairman must be acceptable to all interests; he may be elected by the members themselves, or if the membership is confined to employers and employes, selected by the President from a number acceptable to both.

As indicated by the experience of Canada, by the Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee,[1] and by many of our community labor boards, the executive officer of the Federal Employment Service, in this case the Director General, is the logical person to serve as secretary of the council. He is the only member closely in touch with all the problems; any other secretary would be compelled to consult him continually. It should be the duty of the secretary of the council to make available to members data which would aid them in advising with reference to the Service, to prepare the agenda, report the meetings, transmit all decisions to the

[1] The name given to the local employment office council.

proper persons, be responsible for correspondence and any special investigations or reports.

Meetings

Meetings should be held at least semi-annually and a definite procedure decided upon.

Compensation

It is assumed that the members of the council will serve without salary, but that all expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the council should be defrayed by the government.

Through the establishment of a nationally representative council, such as has been suggested here, working in consultation with the United States Employment Service Board made up of the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Agriculture, a non-partisan administration of the duties assumed by the federal government in the operation of a federal-state-local employment service would seem to be guaranteed as far as can be done through the means of organization. How these duties or functions should be aligned is the problem with which we are next concerned.

CHAPTER XI

ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL OFFICE

I. ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

AN analysis of the structure of the central administrative office of the United States Employment Service both during the war and at present, together with that of the Dominion office of the Employment Service of Canada, would indicate that the duties to be performed by the federal government in a federal-state-local service might well be classified into the following administrative functions:

1. Planning and research
2. Interstate clearance
3. The operation of the service in states which provide none
4. Inspection
5. Control[1]

How these functions may be most effectively distributed into divisions or sub-units will depend much on the volume of work entailed in each and the relation of one to the other. The alignment must be largely a matter of experiment, and the test, the degree to which it works satisfactorily rather than strict logical order.

Planning and Research

In the early days of the United States Employment Service, formal provision was made in the central administrative office by the Secretary of Labor for a policies and planning board. Though this function does not appear on subsequent charts, it was necessarily performed more or less continuously. Planning is an ever present essential of effective administration, even though it be carried on informally. The operation is so taken for granted that it is rarely specified as a separate function unless a special unit is organized to perform it.

[1] The last includes all accounting in connection with grants-in-aid, correspondence, filing, and other problems of central office management.

As indicated by our own as well as by Canadian experience, the broader policies of the Service will usually in the first instance be formulated by the Director General himself or by some assistant delegated by him to do so. They will then be referred for discussion and modification to his staff, to the Employment Service Board, and to the National Council.

It has been in his frequent conferences with his staff that the Director of the Employment Service of Canada has found a solution for most of the questions concerned with detailed procedure and method. While an assistant has been employed to do the larger part of the research entailed, responsibility for reporting on various problems has been assigned to different members of the director's staff, sometimes singly and sometimes in committee.

Research in the federal office of a federal-state-local employment service is not to be thought of as an occasional service to be engaged in irregularly. Proper planning depends upon its being continuous. Facts must be gathered and weighed before changes or innovations in policy can be safely made. Nor is research any the less an active function because performed by but one research worker or because distributed among other assistants as one of their many duties. It is an ever present necessity.

Interstate Clearance[1]

The first question to arise in relation to the organization of interstate clearance is whether or not it should be geographically decentralized; that is, whether there should be other clearance centers or sub-centers in addition to Washington. As we have already pointed out, neither the past nor the present district organization of the United States Employment Service gives us any significant experience. To centralize in the Washington office the operation of all interstate clearance, as was vividly demonstrated by our war experience, is to disregard the basic requisite for successful functioning, namely, speed. If, for example, the Seattle office had an order which it could not fill within its own state, but which the Portland, Oregon, office could fill, action would be—indeed was—

[1] The subject of clearance is discussed in more detail in chapters beginning on pp. 396 and 410. It is taken up here only in so far as it relates to the organization of the federal office.

lamentably delayed if the order had to be sent to Washington, D.C., and then back to Oregon. On the other hand, clearance between the states of Washington and Oregon and others nearby would be greatly expedited if a properly organized regional office were established in the Northwest. Again, employers in Kansas City, Missouri, needing workers available in Topeka, Kansas, or in Nashville, Tennessee, could clear much more effectively through an interstate office in that vicinity than through one in Washington.

Provision for the decentralized operation of interstate clearance would seem clearly to be imperative, if the system is to function to its maximum.

Regional organization of interprovincial clearance has been provided for by the Employment Service of Canada to the extent of two interprovincial clearing houses: one for the East and one for the West.

This whole problem of the geographical decentralization of interstate clearance in the United States is such an unknown quantity that to attack it experimentally, to try it out in one or two regions first, would seem to be the only sound way to proceed.

The volume of clearance between regions to be handled in the Washington office would in the beginning probably be comparatively small. Therefore, after a technique had been established, but one or two persons would be required for its performance. This is the case in Canada.

If no function but that of clearance is to be organized regionally —and this would seem advisable in the beginning—those in charge of it in the regional offices might well report directly to the staff executive in charge of clearance in the Washington office. The latter would also, as in Canada, direct any research connected with interstate and interregional clearance. He might, for example, assist the officer in charge of inspection to devise standards by which inspectors would judge of state clearance divisions. If occasion demanded, he might be delegated at times to report to the Director General on their operation.

Establishment and Operation of Services in States Providing None

Without knowing definitely in how many and in what states it will be necessary for the federal government to establish and operate a system of offices because of the failure of states to take advantage of federal aid and to provide their own, it is difficult to anticipate what specific provision might be needed for them. Practically all that can be said is that the practice of the United States Employment Service in such instances seems to have been the only sound one. A state director for each such state directly responsible to the federal Director General was appointed. Oversight of these state services was in some degree exercised by the Director General through special agents and organizers who acted as his representatives. Likewise in such a service as we are here discussing, the Director General would delegate inspectors or other members of the central office staff to make reports on the performances of these state services operated by the federal office.

Inspection

It must be remembered that it will be largely through the inspection of state administrative and local offices that the federal service will determine whether the state services are conforming to the conditions imposed upon them, and consequently whether or not they are entitled to their respective grants. Inspection is so vital a function of the federal office, and at the same time one requiring such tactful and efficient performance, that too great care cannot be spent in its organization.

There has been in the experience of the United States Employment Service no function exactly comparable to inspection. The nearest approach to it was "field organization" performed by district organizers. This was concerned almost entirely with the initial establishment of the wartime employment machinery.

In Canada the two regional or district superintendents who have charge of the interprovincial clearing houses maintained by the Dominion Service perform such inspectional duties as are required. Similarly, a regional organization of inspection has been suggested for this country. The federal Service, it is argued, must provide

for regional clearance. This involves the appointment of a representative of the Federal Service to supervise the operation of this function. Why not also make him responsible either directly or through an assistant for inspection?

Though federal inspection of the state services should doubtless be periodic, in the beginning at least, it ought not to be too frequent. The states, as is the tendency among the Canadian provinces, would resent it and become antagonistic. In all probability more than a semi-annual inspection of the administrative and local offices of each state would not be feasible. The regional representative of the federal office, it is maintained, would seem the logical person to perform this function. Should the volume of inspection be too heavy for one person, and this is doubtful, he might delegate some of it to one of his assistants.

Not only would the performance of the function of inspection by the regional representative make unnecessary the appointment of special inspectors, but it would reduce an inspector's time and expense in traveling to and from Washington, if his base was there. Moreover, it would facilitate the operation of interstate clearance and other possible regional office functions, would result in the federal inspectors' becoming intimately acquainted with the operation of the state services, and would promote a friendly relationship with the personnel of these services. Such a relationship would be exceedingly valuable in gaining state co-operation in the promotion of the work of the federal Service.

Those who oppose such a decentralized plan and favor establishing federal inspection headquarters at Washington, claim that it is for the most part through inspection that the Director General and his staff must be kept in close touch with the state service. Certain staff specialists, in order to perform their functions properly, must be sent into the field, and their utilization as inspectors would make necessary a smaller number of full-time inspectors. This would mean more economical and probably more effective inspection than would be possible if it were decentralized. Moreover, the danger of duplication of work by inspectors and other staff specialists is minimized, an interchange of experience would be facilitated, and the technique of inspection constantly modified and perfected.

As between these two points of view it seems to us that the

burden of the argument is in favor of the latter, but that the procedure, whichever of the plans is followed, would better be a matter of evolution. As we have previously suggested, it would be advisable for the federal office to proceed slowly and cautiously with regional organization; to handle and develop but one function at a time. Certainly the first to be "regionalized" would be clearance. In the early stages at least, inspection might well be carried on from the Washington office, and a change be made if experience should indicate that it would be more satisfactory by or through the regional representative.

Control

The number and variety of duties grouped under the designation of "Control" by our war emergency service made feasible the organization of them into a distinct division. They included, for example, accounting, correspondence, filing, and all other tasks connected with office management. While the volume of performance in such a division would be considerably less under a federal-state-local system, it would doubtless be sufficient to warrant maintaining it as a functional unit.

II. STAFF SPECIALISTS

In addition to the executives in charge of the functional divisions of work in the Washington office, the Director General of the war emergency employment service was assisted by specialists in his study of the placement problem of selected groups of applicants: women, juniors, professional and technical workers, farm laborers, and the handicapped. Some of these specialists took charge of the field work for the group they were serving. The assistant in charge of the work for women eventually became a staff instead of an executive officer, but not until the conflicts in authority that resulted from the creation of a separate division for women made the abolition of that division necessary. Recognition, however, of the fact that the placement of women workers presented certain special problems, which particularly during the war required the adoption of special policies, led to the appointment of a woman assistant to the federal Director for Women's Work.

As a staff officer, the assistant to the Director General for

Women's Work represented, safeguarded, and promoted the interest of women workers in and through the United States Employment Service. This was accomplished by enforcing, in so far as was possible through the women's divisions of the state offices, the policies regarding the employment of women in war work promulgated by the Woman-in-Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor; by securing the representation of women in all branches of the Service where it was desirable; by adopting such policies and practice as would stimulate the development of women's work in local offices; and by enlisting the interest and co-operation of women's organizations.

Although the Dominion office of the Employment Service of Canada has employed no staff officer for women's work, it has provided one for junior work. Likewise does our own abridged federal office of the Employment Service continue to operate a Junior Division, and it provides special assistance for the handling of harvest labor in the wheat belt.

Both our own and Canadian experience would indicate the desirability of providing on the federal administrative staff gradually and in order of their need, specialists in the placement of those groups of applicants which require particular and special attention.

CHAPTER XII

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE SERVICE

THE structural organization of the state units of a federal-state-local employment service in the system as we conceive it, will vary little if any from that which now obtains in Wisconsin. Indeed, from the local aspect, it may well be identical with it. There, it will be recalled, the one or more local units of government in the area served by the local office of the State Employment Service defray the fixed charges entailed in its maintenance and participate in its management through representation on a local employment committee.[1] Those states in which the State Employment Service has not adopted this policy of local co-operation will find it advisable to adjust their machinery.

From the federal point of view, practically the only change in the present structure of the state services imposed by the agreement between the federal government and the states is in relation to the provision for clearance and local employment councils.[2] The agreement obligates the states to establish a system of clearance between their own local offices and to co-operate with the interstate clearance machinery established and operated by the federal government. It also obligates the states to establish local employment councils in connection with the local units of their service.

The structural organization of each state unit of a federal-state-local employment service consists of the administrative machinery and the local offices. Only the administrative organization will be dealt with in this chapter.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IN THE STATE BUREAU OF LABOR

All the state functions concerned with the administration of labor laws and related activities are usually concentrated in the

[1] See pp. 121–123 and 213–214. [2] See pp. 213–226.

State Bureau of Labor. In some states this unit differs in name; in others, in the enlargement and specialization of its functions and in the effectiveness of their performance. It is, however, by this unit of the state government that the state employment offices in the past have been and are at present administered.

In three states where public employment offices are generally acknowledged, prior to the armistice, to have reached a high development—in Wisconsin, Ohio, and New York[1]—these offices have been for some years administered by an industrial commission. This form of organization has been substituted for the Department of Labor or for the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Unlike the United States Department of Labor, the state bureaus of labor or the state industrial commissions have not been subject in their administration of employment offices, at least so far as we could discover, to charges of partisanship. Prior to the war there had been little occasion for the state employment offices to become a very large factor in industrial controversies. And during the war few state bureaus of labor were designated by the United States Employment Service as its representative. In the great majority of cases a distinct administrative organization was created. However, in Wisconsin the State Industrial Commission administered the United States Employment Service; and in several states, as in Illinois, there was definite co-operation with the executive department of the state government which administered the state employment offices. In these states whatever hostility was evinced by employers toward the administration of the United States Employment Service, seems to have been because of its connection with the United States Department of Labor rather than with that of any state bureaus of labor or state industrial commissions.

But the state departments or bureaus of labor and the state industrial commissions have not been immune, either in the composition of their own personnel or in that of the state employment offices, from charges by employers and citizens generally of political expediency. Appointments as member of a commission or as chief of a bureau of labor are political ones; and in the majority of cases they have resulted in the selection of persons quite lacking in the qualifications required by the position.

[1] Law creating industrial commission repealed.

While the state bureaus of labor and the industrial commissions suffer the handicaps common to state administration, they are the most logical branch of the state government for the control of the state employment services. Either the commissioner of labor or some member of the Industrial Commission is the nominal head of the State Employment Service. And in federal-state-local administrations, as obtain at present among those states which cooperate with the federal Employment Service, he would be appointed its representative at one dollar a year, with the title, Federal Director of the United States Employment Service for the State of ————. However, in some instances, as in Pennsylvania, the State Commissioner of Labor has conferred this appointment on the executive officer of the employment service.

II. STATUS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION IN THE PAST AND AT PRESENT

The task of building up and administering an effective state employment service is one of no mean size. Yet up to the time of our entrance into the World War our state employment services were at a stage where the duties connected with the administration of them were performed on the whole more or less informally. In a few states only, Wisconsin, New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania, was a special state director or superintendent of public employment offices provided for. And it is to this provision for special direction and supervision that the employment offices of these states largely owe their progress.

The demand made by war industries upon the state units of our war emergency employment service forced the extension of employment offices and more than ever before focused attention on their administration. While the administrative requirements differed considerably in the various states, the difference was of degree rather than of kind. In order to assist the federal directors of the state services to administer them as effectively as possible, field organizers, acting as representatives of the Director General, were detailed from the Washington office. They took with them a plan for the functional organization of the duties involved in the administration of state employment services and aided the state director

in arranging for their performance. The adjustments varied of course with the particular needs of each state. In some states the staff of the administrative offices was limited to the state director and one or two assistants. In others, particularly the industrial states, it was large. It numbered 47 in Ohio just prior to the armistice, 93 in Illinois, and 131 in New York. In these latter states subdivision of labor was possible to a very considerable degree. While the content of administration in the state units of the United States Employment Service at the point of their greatest expansion included some exclusively war-time aspects, its basic structure consisted of functions which are necessary to peace-time operation. At present, theoretically at least, these are being carried on in every state service; but practically anything like adequate provision for their performance is being made in only a few instances.

III. ESSENTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

On the basis of our past and present experience, it may be concluded that the essential functions in the administration of the state units of a federal-state-local employment service are:

1. Planning and Research
2. Selection and Training of Personnel
3. Supervision
4. Clearance
5. Publicity
6. Control (Purchase and custody of supplies, accounts, disbursements, mail correspondence, filing, and similar duties)

The collection and interpretation of information on the status of the labor market is not included here as one of the responsibilities of the administrative office of the state service. State services are not yet well enough established properly to handle this function.

With the exception of the first, planning and research, and control, the last of the functions listed, each of the others will be discussed in detail in separate chapters in Part Three.[1] Planning and

[1] Although these chapters on the Selection and Training of Personnel, Supervision, Clearance, and Publicity have aspects to be considered from the point of view of the general organization and administration of the service, they are so intimately related to the placement process that discussion of them is postponed to Part Three, which deals in detail with questions of placement.

research are integral parts of all the other functions. As for control, it has to do with the more routine aspects of central office management.

The Administrative Staff

Just how, in terms of personnel, the administrative functions are to be assigned for performance, depends as now on the size of the staff and the organization scheme of the Bureau of Labor, Industrial Commission, or any other executive department of the state government to which the employment service happens to be allocated. If the office management of this executive department is organized as a unit, much of the staff will be relieved of many of the duties entailed in the function of control.

In October, 1922, the staff of the administrative office of the Pennsylvania Employment Service in Harrisburg was to our knowledge the largest provided by any of the states. It consisted of a director, a chief clerk, a statistician, and a secretary. Publicity was handled for the entire Department of Labor and Industry, to which the employment service is allocated, by a special assistant or the staff of the commissioner. Some of the duties included in control were also handled by clerks for the whole department. Otherwise this staff of four performed all the central office functions of the Pennsylvania Employment Service. No special assistants for particular groups of applicants, women, juniors, farm labor, and the like were provided.

In New York the heads of the women's and the junior divisions of the Brooklyn placement office of the State Employment Service have assisted the state director in the work of the other officers throughout the state relating to these groups of applicants.

The personnel provision for administration made by the Pennsylvania Employment Service is far from typical. Indeed, the great majority of our state employment offices lack even a special state director. The appointment of such a director by every state employment service whose potential, if not present, needs would justify it, would seem, on the basis of experience in Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere, to be the first step in developing an effective system of public employment offices. Intelligent leadership is all-important, and the overhead cost of it can hardly fail to prove a wise investment. With proper leadership it

may be reasonably expected that a sufficiently adequate administrative staff will be maintained to meet the growing needs of the various state services.

Local Councils

The first local employment office committee in the United States was created in 1899 by the city ordinance which established the municipal employment office of Superior, Wisconsin. Tacoma and Portland, Oregon, followed suit. And Wisconsin in the reorganization of her state employment offices in 1912 instituted local committees in connection with all but one office. New York[1] and Ohio, much less formally, had established some prior to 1918, and Pennsylvania has recently set up some. Moreover, during the war community labor boards were very widely established by the United States Employment Service. During the same period in Great Britain numerous local employment committees were established in connection with the British Labour Exchanges.

Though the form of organization of these advisory groups varies, all of them include in their personnel representatives of employers, workers, and the public.

Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee

Origin and Purpose. Of the older local advisory boards the Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee is perhaps the most outstanding. The severe unemployment prevalent in Milwaukee in the early spring of 1911 led to the establishment of a free employment bureau. The bureau was most effective in coping with the problem. This, as previously indicated, was due to its financial support and direction by a committee of citizens representing the city and county, as well as organized employers and employes. In the subsequent reorganization of its public employment service by the state it annexed this committee to its Milwaukee office. Since then the city and county have defrayed the fixed charges entailed in the operation of this office. Also, similar committees have been established in connection with all the other Wisconsin public employment offices.

Composition and Method of Appointment. As at present constituted, the Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee is made up of 20

[1] Since discontinued.

members. Five represent the common council and five the county of Milwaukee; five the Federated Trades Council, and five the Association of Commerce. Each member is nominated by the organization which he represents.

Officers. The committee elects its own chairman and vice-chairman. The superintendent of the employment office acts as secretary, and the manager of the women's division of the office as assistant secretary to the committee.

Meetings. Meetings are held monthly.

Functions. The committee audits the accounts of the office for the month, approves bills, discusses future expenditures, the work of the office, and any special problems brought up by the superintendent. Within its jurisdiction it makes decisions and also recommendations to the State Industrial Commission regarding the conduct of the office.

Accomplishment. By virtue of the interests, the prestige, and the business ability represented in its personnel, as well as by the unflagging application of its members to their task, the Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee has carried on not merely an impartial but also a businesslike and confidence-inspiring management of its public employment office. The power of the committee to withhold or secure appropriations from the city and county has made for an administration free from political or other partisan dominance and on the whole unassailable.

New York State Local Boards

Some of the local advisory boards established in connection with the up-state public employment offices of New York have also been active in promoting a non-partisan and efficient administration of them. These boards differ mainly from the Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee in that their membership does not include official representatives of the city and county. In New York State the local communities in which public employment offices are established do not as in Wisconsin defray the fixed charges incurred in the operation of the offices.

Composition and Method of Appointment. They are composed of representative employers, employes, and members of other allied interests in the community with a chairman agreed upon by the

body. Appointments are made by the State Commissioner of Labor.

Duty. Their duty is "to give the Superintendent advice and assistance in connection with the management of the employment office."

Meetings. Meetings are held usually only when special occasion for them arises.

Voting. A somewhat unique provision for voting was made by the statute of 1914, since repealed, as follows:

> At the request of a majority either of the employers or of employes on advisory committees, the voting on any particular question shall be so conducted that there shall be an equality of voting power between the employers and the employes, notwithstanding the absence of any member. Except as above provided, every question shall be decided by a majority of the members present and voting on that question. The chairman shall have no vote on any question on which the equality of voting power has been claimed.[1]

Committees on Junior Work. The special committees organized to assist the junior divisions of the offices in Syracuse, Rochester, and Albany have been effective in securing co-operation with the schools and in otherwise administering these divisions.[2]

Community Labor Boards of the United States Employment Service

It was as a wartime measure that Community Labor Boards were established broadcast throughout the country by the United States Employment Service. They acted as local tribunals to decide upon all matters relating to the recruiting and distribution of labor for war needs within a given area—particularly upon the transfer of workers from the less to the more essential industries. They were to the United States Employment Service what the local draft boards were to the United States Army.

After the armistice the boards assisted in demobilization by making weekly reports to Washington on labor conditions within their respective districts. They also helped to establish soldiers' and sailors' bureaus, and in some instances where communities

[1] Acts of 1914, Chapter 181, Section 66f.

[2] See Chapter XXXI, Junior Workers, p. 571.

were too small to justify an office they acted as placement agents themselves.

While the Community Labor Boards were specifically created for war purposes, their form of organization, the problems which influenced their functioning, and their general effectiveness all contribute to any discussion of permanent employment office advisory boards.

Composition and Method of Appointment. Originally the Community Labor Boards were made up of three members; one representing employers, one, labor; and the chairman, a local man commanding the confidence of the community and representing the employment service, both local and national. The employer and the employe members, usually suggested by their respective organized groups, and the chairman, were recommended for appointment by the state organization committee of the United States Employment Service, or in lieu of such a committee by the state advisory board. Final appointment rested with the Secretary of Labor.

It was not until shortly before the armistice was signed that the Director General of the United States Employment Service issued instructions for the appointment of two women members to Community Labor Boards. One was to represent employers and one, labor. Inasmuch as women were entering into employments heretofore not performed by them, it seemed desirable that their interests be represented and interpreted by women members.

In many of the states where the appointment of the women members had not taken place before the armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, none was made.

Unfortunately on some of the boards the most rabid representatives of either one or both of the organized interests involved were appointed. In one of the cities on the Pacific coast the employer and the labor representative designated had been the bitterest of enemies for years. The feud between them was so intense that they met the chairman singly, never together.

In another city the secretary of the Employers' Association, a roaring lion when union labor was mentioned, as can be seen by his own words, became the employers' representative. His statement follows: "I got myself appointed on the Community Labor Board.

Just put the whole thing up to the members of my association. You see I organized this association myself; volunteered my services to kill the unions. Well, I put the thing right up to them and told them they needed someone on this board who could fight the unions to a finish. And I'm the man that can do it. The unions don't try to pull any wool over my eyes; they know that I know their game. Used to be a union man myself once, so I'm on to all the ropes. My motto about the Service is 'Slug it to a finish.'"

Questioned as to the wisdom of confirming such an appointment, an official of the Service replied: "Such a man is much less harmful on the Board than off. When he is responsible, he makes less noise."

Officers. The Service made every effort to secure as chairman the best fitted person in the community, and for the most part it succeeded. The majority were men of public affairs: judges, educators, lawyers, or clergymen, many of whom gave their time willingly and unstintingly. It was customary for the superintendent of the local office to serve as secretary of the Board without voting power. He could thus supply information which could be secured in hardly any other way, and bring up problems of the local office's work for discussion and action by the Board.

Status. According to instructions from the Director General, "The Community Labor Board has no executive duties but so far as possible should assist in recruiting labor by securing harmonious and co-operative action on the part of employers and employes."

In the discharge of their wartime function the question of power, of status, and of procedure arose almost immediately. If it were not possible to convince the board members that they did not need enforcing power, or if it were not possible to suggest procedure, the recognition of their complete lack of authority and their ignorance as to just what to do quite paralyzed many of them at the very beginning.

The press in one of the middle western cities, by emphasizing the absence of any bona fide authority in the boards, did much to nullify their action and to impair the self-confidence of their members.

Effectiveness. The degree to which the boards functioned depended on a number of factors: First, on the general attitude in the

community of employing and working groups toward one another. Second, on the attitude of the federal director of the state service and the chairman of the board toward the usefulness to the public of the boards and their particular ability to develop this usefulness. Third, on the attitude of the other members of the board—on their intelligence and judgment; their willingness to submerge their partisan interest in a common cause; the seriousness with which they accepted their responsibility; and the extent to which they commanded the confidence of their own group as well as that of the community at large.

The testimony of some of those directly connected with the boards gives a notion as to how these boards functioned. Even more, in some instances, does it reveal the attitude toward the boards of those who testify. "I complied with orders from the Director General and appointed Community Labor Boards," stated the federal director of one of the state services on the Pacific coast, "but they amounted to little. It's my opinion that the Service would be a great deal better without them. What's the point of recognizing either the employer or the unions. The Service should play to the community as a whole."

And from another in the Middle West: "The Boards in this state were entirely useless. They did nothing but talk."

According to a third: "I had the superintendent of the local office act as the chairman of the Board. Yes, I know it wasn't according to Hoyle. The employer and labor representatives on the Board should have chosen their own chairman. But if they had been allowed to, they would have got the idea they were running things instead of being merely advisers. That would never have done. Yes, the Board advised on all out-of-town shipments. Did good work. And exercised a lot of moral suasion in the community."

"Our community labor boards never did a thing," said a federal director in New England. "Big men appointed who wouldn't, or at any rate, *didn't* put in any time."

"The Board here," stated the superintendent of an office in one of the states of the Northwest, "hasn't been altogether a success. The labor representative seemed to be interested but the employer representative was pretty indifferent. Nobody wanted to shoulder any responsibility. The whole question of the transfer

of labor was put up to me. Individually the members of the Board would say 'Anything you do is all right.' But it was tough on me."

And according to a member of one of the boards in the South: "We didn't accomplish very much. The chairman wouldn't stand for any suggestions. The relationship between all of us was a pretty superficial one. Each was very polite but anything of real importance which might have resulted in a controversy was always carefully tabled without any discussion."

The Community Labor Board of Dayton, Ohio

How the Community Labor Board in Dayton, Ohio, worked is related by its chairman as follows:

I said to the members of my Board at the very beginning, "Now gentlemen, we've got a real job on our hands and if you're not willing to give your time to it and treat it like a business proposition, you'd better quit now."

All three of us were at the Employment office every day except Saturdays and Sundays, and stayed there most of the afternoon. You see we didn't know a thing about our job or how the Bureau was run. None of us had ever been in it; so we had to buckle down and learn our lesson.

It didn't take us long, though, to get on to things. We were up against it here for labor. Some of the men who drifted in because they heard we were paying good wages were told that we couldn't house them and so left the city. When we found this out, we got all the women's societies in town together (we weren't used to speaking before literary ladies, either) and put it up to them to open up their houses to these men and help win the war. You should have seen the response we got.

We noticed that the examiners in the Employment Bureau weren't especially cordial to applicants. So we gave orders that every man who came in looking for a job, even the most notorious bum in town, was to be treated like a prince. And while we were there, anyway, he was.

When it came to transferring labor we called conferences of employers. If they sent their secretaries, we got the employers themselves on the telephone and told them no business they had to transact was one-sixteenth so important as this labor matter and that we refused to accept any proxies. You bet they came, and they gave up their men, too.

As soon as we realized what the Employment Bureau was accomplishing and what it meant to Dayton, we did everything we could

to boost it. Seventy-five per cent of the people in this town didn't know we had an employment bureau. So we got money from the war chest to carry on an advertising campaign for it.

After the war was over we again had our hands full. We were all in the Bureau one afternoon when a delegation 200 strong walked in upon us. They demanded jobs then and there. We told them we couldn't talk with the whole 200, but that we'd be glad to confer with any committee they'd appoint. And we did. Then we had a big meeting of employers; put the whole thing up to them and they pledged jobs for over 200. But only 116 ever showed up to take them.

While the Community Labor Board of Dayton was more outstanding in its activity than others, many of them accepted very seriously their specific wartime responsibility. Their particular post-armistice function, the weekly collection of data on local labor conditions, was usually performed in their name by a member of the local office staff or by an especially employed secretary. In smaller communities where no office existed, members of the Labor Board frequently expended no little effort in helping to place returned soldiers and sailors.

After the armistice, however, the continuance of the majority of the boards was but nominal. In only a few cases during the war did the boards take the initiative in concerning themselves with the general management of their local office, while the examiner-in-charge was frequently either too short-sighted or too overburdened with his daily routine or both, to make it his business to interest them in it. The war over, they considered their duty done. As one member put it, "Of course, we'd serve if there were anything for us to do."

In some instances, however, as in Dayton, the boards became potent agents in insuring a vigorous and efficient administration of the local office; in raising its tenor; in vitalizing it; in interpreting it to the community and the community to it; and in educating labor and capital to a better understanding of each other's point of view.

Local Employment Committees of the British Labour Exchanges

The 302 local employment committees operating in connection with the British Labour Exchanges were established, as already

stated,[1] as a war measure primarily to bring the exchanges into closer touch with employers and work-people in the various localities.[2]

Composition and Method of Appointment. The committees, varying considerably in size, are composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers usually nominated by their local associations, together with other members not exceeding one-third of the total, whose interests are closely allied with the purpose of the employment exchanges or who are capable of promoting them. These latter are nominated directly by the Minister of Labour. Of the committee members at least one must be a woman.

Term of Office. The term of appointment is for three years.

Officers. Though the chairman of each committee is nominated by the Minister of Labour, the vice-chairman may be selected by the membership itself. Arrangement is made by the Department of Employment Exchanges for the attendance at committee and sub-committee meetings of its representatives. Usually the exchange manager acts as secretary; if not, other secretarial assistance is provided by the Department.

Sub-Committees. Each committee may organize sub-committees, the membership of which, it is recommended, be chosen from without the committee itself. The number of sub-committees necessarily varies greatly. A sub-committee on women's work is not always designated unless specifically deemed necessary by the Minister of Labour. Also, should the main committee cover an area in which more than one exchange is operated, a sub-committee is appointed to act in connection with each of such.

In areas where no special committees on juniors have been established by the educational authorities under the Choice of Employments Act,[3] the chairman of the local employment committee may appoint a sub-committee on junior work. If such special committees have already been organized, the local employment

[1] See p. 213.

[2] Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee of Enquiry of the Ministry of Labour into the Work of the Employment Exchanges, 1921, p. 56. London, Government.

[3] Lasker, Bruno: The British System of Labor Exchanges, pp. 63–66. Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 206, 1916.

committee is not concerned with the employment of boys and girls under seventeen years of age. However, in order to promote co-operation between these two committees, the Minister of Labour has suggested that the committee on junior workers nominate a representative for appointment to the general local committee.

The proposed personnel of the sub-committees on women's work and of that on exchanges must be submitted to the Minister for his approval. The personnel of all other sub-committees is nominated directly on behalf of the Minister by the chairman of the main committee, who must submit a statement of their composition and functions to the Minister.

Compensation. Allowance is made by the Department to members of the committees for traveling and subsistence expenses incurred in attending meetings or otherwise in the performance of duties connected with the work of the committee. "In the case of workpeople following their trade and not paid officials of the organization with which they are connected" compensation is paid for lost time.

Meetings. Unless special circumstances prevent, meetings of the committees are held at least once a month, but more frequently if desirable.

Agenda. Since the Minister has urged the committees to "exercise the widest possible latitude in initiating their own business and in concerning themselves as intimately as possible with the work of the Exchanges in their areas," the agenda is by no means confined to questions referred to them by the Department. A copy of the agenda is mailed with the notice of the meeting to each member of the committees five days before the date of convening.

Voting. All meetings are private. Although any member of the Department of Employment Exchanges officially designated has the right to attend and speak at any meeting of the committees or sub-committees, he has not the right to vote. Decisions are made by a majority vote. Any member dissenting by a majority vote may present a minority report, which the chairman must forward, together with a copy of the resolution, to the Minister of Labour.

Power. As has been previously suggested, the power of the committee is purely advisory; it must submit all its recommendations

to its divisional officer who must sanction them before they can be acted upon.

Activities. Although the Local Employment Committees have taken advantage of the wide authority granted them by the Minister of Labour to initiate their own business, a considerable volume is prescribed by means of circulars and memoranda issued by the Department. The latter, together with the special section entitled, "The Local Employment Committees at Work," in *The Month's Work*,[1] while it was published, afforded information as to the functions which they performed.

During the first year of their existence, from November, 1917, to November, 1918, the Local Employment Committees were occupied principally with war problems. The chief of these was substitution of workers for those drawn off for war service. The housing of these workers was another.

Of the distinctly post-war functions of the committees many were concerned in the actual process of demobilization; the resettlement not only of discharged soldiers and sailors, but also of civilian workers; and the administration of the Out-of-Work Donation Fund.

Significant indeed are the distinctly war and post-war activities of the committees in indicating the scope of their work, their service in a great crisis, and their general status. But these activities possess fewer practical suggestions for the normal functioning in this country of such committees than does the day by day administration of employment office routine.

In connection with the premises of the exchanges, the committees perform certain definite duties. They may recommend any alterations or additions they deem necessary, or even the removal of an exchange to more suitable premises. Final plans for alterations are submitted by the Department to the Committee for their comments before being referred to the Office of Works for execution.

Since provision is made in most of the exchanges for rooms suitable for the meetings of local groups, employers' associations, trade unions, and other bodies of a non-political nature, the Local Em-

[1] Great Britain, Ministry of Labour, Department of Employment Exchanges, *The Month's Work*, August, 1920.

ployment Committees have adopted regulations governing the granting of the use of such rooms. Also they have encouraged local groups of employers and workers to take advantage of them.

Publicity is a function with which practically all the committees have been concerned. They have submitted suggestions to the Department regarding the need for it and methods of providing it. Inasmuch, however, as only a comparatively small appropriation for publicity, and that for only a temporary period, has been allowed the committees by the Department, accomplishment in this field has been limited.

Public meetings have been held by some of the committees to explain their own function as well as that of the exchanges, and to develop an interest in certain aspects of the work of the latter. One of the committees issued posters outlining the constitution and functions of the main committee and sub-committees and a six-page leaflet giving fuller information as to the activities of these bodies. This leaflet was widely distributed to trade union organizations and other interested groups and individuals. News items on various aspects of the work of the exchanges and of the committees have been published as a result of the efforts of the committees.

The investigation of complaints concerning the operation of the exchanges has been another of the responsibilities assumed by many of the Local Employment Committees. The publishing of their findings in the press has done much to gain the goodwill of the public and to decrease unfounded charges.

Many diverse problems of administration have been discussed by the committees and recommendations made to the Minister of Labour. In a number of instances action has been initiated. One of the committees issued directions to the police force of the community for reaching the Exchange, because of a report that a local policeman had been unable to tell an inquirer how to get to it.

Sub-Committees on Women's Work. It is the function of the Sub-Committees on Women's Work to analyze the work of the women's department of the Exchange as is indicated in their periodic reports; to enlist the co-operation of employers of women workers in the use of the exchanges; to consider criticisms and suggestions related to the women's departments; to arrange by the appoint-

ment of small sub-committees for the interviewing of uncommon types of applicants in order to help them to obtain suitable training and employment; and to assist employers to recruit applicants.

Sub-Committees on Junior Work. Inasmuch as advisory committees on junior work had been operating on an extensive scale long before the creation of the Local Employment Committees, these have maintained their autonomy and have, therefore, except in comparatively few cases, made unnecessary the appointment by the Local Employment Committees of sub-committees on junior work. The organization and functioning of these advisory committees will be discussed in the chapter on Juniors.[1]

As compared with the local advisory boards in this country, the Local Employment Committees of the British Labour Exchanges seem to have been much more carefully organized and supervised. If local employment councils are to fulfil their function they must be accepted as an integral part of the administrative machinery of an employment service. As such they demand constant attention by the administrative officers. Their performance and possibilities must ever be evaluated and their organization adjusted to make them effective.

IV. CONCLUSION

Altogether the experiences of the local employment councils in this country as well as those in Great Britain offer some valuable contributions to so widespread a service as would obtain under a federal-state-local system. With few exceptions the organization scheme of the British bodies might be profitably adopted on this side. It is clear that the personnel of our proposed councils, in addition to representatives of workers and employers and perhaps certain other interests, must include representatives of the local units of government of the area served by the exchange. This is one of the fundamental planks in the federal-state-local plan. The Citizens' Committee of Milwaukee, consisting of five members nominated by the City Council, five by the County Board of Supervisors, five by organized workers, and five by organized employers, typifies the required representation. The number, five, for each type of interest, is arbitrary, subject to either expansion or contrac-

[1] See p. 576.

tion, preferably the latter. While the main committee may or may not represent additional interests, the sub-committees, as in Great Britain, might be expected to. The committee on juniors or any other special committee instituted, either as a permanent or temporary body, could well be organized as a sub-committee of the main one.

Again, the nature of federal-state-local administration makes it incumbent on the local committees, as in Milwaukee, to supervise the maintenance expenditures of the local service and to adapt the management to local needs.

Particularly commendable, we have already noted, is the degree of supervision which the British Minister of Labour exercises over the British Local Employment Committees through the preparation of instructions and suggestions concerning their organization and activities, through the submission to them of various pertinent data, and through the attendance of officials of the Department at all meetings of the main and sub-committees. Only through a like degree of supervision can the local employment councils of our proposed national service operate successfully.

CHAPTER XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICES WITHIN A STATE

I. NEED, THE GENERAL DETERMINANT OF THE NUMBER AND LOCATION OF OFFICES

IT IS the individual needs of any state that should determine how many public employment offices should be provided and where they should be located. That the need of each state will vary is only too evident. Nevada would seem to represent the minimum and perhaps the least diversified; New York and Illinois the maximum and the most diversified. Exactly what this demand constitutes in terms of number, type, and location of offices is at present a matter of conjecture. Only the minimum is certain. That at least one office receiving applicants for all occupations with provision for clearance be maintained in each state is prerequisite to any complete nation-wide service. Beyond this, up to a certain point the requirement of any state for public employment offices is relative—relative to the cost of establishing and operating them. In the town of Pownal, Vermont, for instance, there may have been during the past year 25 workers who did not know where to find employment and five employers wanting seven workmen. These demands may or may not have been coincident in point of time. A need for employment service actually existed, but obviously the State of Vermont could not afford to maintain an office to serve so limited a demand. During four weeks of the year Wichita, Kansas, may be overrun with farmers from the surrounding country in search of harvest hands and also with farmhands in search of harvest work. Should the State of Kansas establish an employment office in Wichita? If so, for how long? Does Butte, Montana, where the industrial interests are largely controlled by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company which conducts its own employment office, need a public service? How to determine exactly what communities of a state in this country require a public employment service is a question which only further experiment in this field can answer.

Only by the establishment of some standard, some unit of measurement, can it be adequately answered.

In Great Britain the need of any area for an employment exchange or a branch office has been interpreted not only in terms of the probable volume of placement in the area, but also in terms of the administration of unemployment insurance.[1] Nor has Canada evolved any scientific method.

II. NO SCIENTIFIC STANDARD FOR MEASURING NEED FOR EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

One reason why no adequate standard for the measurement of the need of a community for an employment service has been devised is that there has been no practical demand for one. The demand for scientific method usually comes when precision of measurement for one reason or another becomes a necessity, and when that precision cannot be secured through empirical means.

In the public employment office field no such necessity has existed in the United States until comparatively recently. The possibility up to the time of the armistice that any state would vote an appropriation sufficient to satisfy any but its greatest urgency, was so remote that only prima facie evidence of that urgency was required. It is true that during the war and the first few months following the armistice, the United States Employment Service suffered very little in satisfying the needs of the various states through lack of means. But the necessity to establish offices quickly made it employ empirical methods. Stimulated by the scale upon which the United States Employment Service operated, and in response to a demand from certain communities for the continuance of their office after the federal curtailment following the armistice, a few of the states have provided for employment service in cities where the need is not altogether self-evident. Here the offices are being operated as an experiment and their continuance will doubtless be determined by the service they perform and by standards established on the basis of that performance.

[1] Lasker, Bruno: The British System of Labor Exchanges, p. 10. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 206, Washington, 1916.

III. ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES FOR ESTABLISHING OFFICES

The Greatest Need to Be Met First and Adequately

Since, however, none of the states, even those just referred to, has up to date provided sufficiently well-equipped or specialized offices to satisfy the obvious urgency for such offices, it is clear that this urgency should have priority over less patent or more debatable demands. In other words, it would seem sounder practice for the states to establish progressively, in proportion to the need, comparatively adequate offices than to institute simultaneously several ineffective ones. It has been this latter practice which has largely been responsible for the present status of the public employment office work of this country.

The State To Be "Covered"

If the need of two centers within any given state is practically identical, and that of but one can be satisfied, the office should be assigned to whichever one, with reference to other existing offices, would best cover the state. In Massachusetts, for example, the greatest exigency has always been in Boston. The first office was established there and in the beginning on a comparatively adequate scale, though unfortunately it has expanded little with the increased demand made upon it. Assuming that the requirement of Worcester, 50 miles distant from Boston, and that of Springfield, 100 miles, were equivalent, an office located in Springfield probably would be more accessible to a greater unserved portion of the state's population than one established in Worcester. Thus, if it were possible for Massachusetts to provide but two local offices, one in Boston would serve the eastern half of the state and one in Springfield the western. While practically the extent to which these offices would be able to render extra-local service has been a matter for experiment, in theory at least, such a distribution would seem to be desirable.

Practical Difficulties in Applying the Above Principles

However, in the distribution of offices, the desirable and the feasible are by no means identical. State legislators are ever alert

to make good with their constituencies by securing local benefits for them. And it is this motive, unhampered by any exact understanding of the problem, rather than that of the greatest social utility, which has in the past and in all probability will in the future continue to dictate the distribution of public employment offices.

In 1915 the Michigan legislature passed an amendment to the employment office statute providing for an office in Bad Axe, a community of 1,559, and one in St. Louis, with a population of 1,940; while the office established ten years earlier in Detroit (in 1910 containing nearly half a million people) was a most inadequate one, with a personnel of three. Be it said, however, that the Commission of Labor failed to take cognizance of the amendment!

With the entrance of the federal government into the field under a federal-state-local plan, it is possible that a better distribution of offices in any state might be effected. Federal aid might be withheld unless a particular office was established in accordance with certain requirements based upon certain needs standardized throughout the nation.

Each Office to Serve a Specific Area

Irrespective of the motives or principles which control the distribution of offices, it is essential, in order to insure proper clearance and state-wide service, that each office be designated to serve, quite arbitrarily in the beginning, a specific territory. This has been the procedure in Great Britain.

If, then, there is to be more than one local office in any one state, the latter should be divided into employment areas corresponding to the number of local offices. No data have been compiled to indicate the maximum area within which any local office actively operates. Differences in the character of areas would necessarily make for differences in the degree to which they could and would be served by any one office.

In the determination of bureau district boundaries, the natural trend of travel, which, in turn, is largely governed by transportation facilities, is a significant factor.

IV. EVIDENCE USED TO DETERMINE THE NEED FOR OFFICES

As previously indicated, the abuses of fee-charging agencies was one of the two most important reasons for the establishment in this country of the early state and municipal offices. The other reason was the large amount of unemployment in certain centers, recurrent particularly during periods of business depression. Since both of these conditions were and still are common to large cities, population figures have come to be, except in the case of the Employment Service administered by the Bureau of Immigration, the chief and frequently the only evidence or determinant of the need for public employment offices. During the war the location of industry, more vividly than before, became in addition to population, another evidence of this need.

It seems to have been on the same evidence of need that the British labor exchanges were in the beginning distributed. According to one authority, "Originally the Exchanges were divided into six classes, serving areas with populations of over 100,000, from 50,000 to 100,000, from 25,000 to 50,000, suburban districts, small industrial towns near large centers, and small towns and districts with specialized trades."[1]

Population

Up to the present no minimum population requirement has been agreed upon. Of all the state statutes in this country, creating public employment offices, that of Illinois designates the lowest population; that is, 25,000. But a few of the states where no statutory stipulation in relation to population is made, have, since the curtailment of the United States Employment Service, established new offices or continued those organized by the Service in cities of less than 25,000. Moreover, it is the avowed aim of a certain state eventually to operate an office in every city of 10,000 and over. The first Director of the Employment Service of Canada was convinced that in a typical community of 3,000 a public office should be maintained. On the other hand, there are

[1] Lasker, Bruno: The British System of Labor Exchanges, p. 10.

those who contend that no city with a population of less than 100,000 needs a public employment office.

In the United States, at least, it seems certain that above a definite point, let us say 150,000, population alone is all the evidence that is required of the need for a public employment office. No doubt exists as to whether an office should be established in cities of half a million—in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Boston, St. Louis, and the others. Nor is there any controversy so far as we know concerning the bona fide need in cities ranging from 150,000 to the half-million mark, such as Worcester, Providence, Dayton, Syracuse, Indianapolis, Seattle, and others.

Population of Fall River, Massachusetts, Not Sufficient Evidence of Need for Establishment of an Office

That below a certain point, perhaps 110,000, population alone is not a sufficient evidence of the need of a city for a public employment office would seem to be indicated by the experience of the Fall River, Massachusetts, office. In 1905, two years previous to the establishment of the office, the population of Fall River was 105,762, outstripping by 30.47 per cent that of Springfield where an office was established simultaneously. In the number of wage-earners employed in manufacturing and trade pursuits Fall River surpassed Springfield by 49.98 per cent. Notwithstanding these facts, the Springfield office transacted during its fiscal year of 1909 approximately 100 per cent more business in terms of applicants, workers requested, and placements, than did the Fall River office.[1] And in the aggregate during the first ten years of operation approximately 500 per cent more. The explanation of this seems to lie in the fact that Fall River is overwhelmingly a "one industry" city. And more specifically in the fact that this one industry is confined to a few plants and therefore to a few employment centers. In 1908 over 81 per cent of the wage-earners of Fall River were engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods. During the year 1909, of the total number of workers requested of the local office by all industries, only about 5 per cent were from those

[1] Eleventh Annual Report of Massachusetts Public Employment Offices, Boston, 1917, pp. 17, 26.

manufacturing cotton goods. Furthermore, the demand for workers in this industry received by the public employment office equalled but four-tenths of 1 per cent of the total number employed in it.[1] What proportion this was of the total number of new employes required by the employers in this industry during the same period, no statistics are available to indicate. That it was exceedingly small, however, may be assumed.

The failure of the cotton industries of Fall River to patronize its public employment office was attributed by its superintendent to the fact that hiring at the gate and at union headquarters adequately filled their demands.[2] Principally because of the small volume of business transacted by the Fall River office in comparison with that of Springfield and Worcester, and in proportion to that of Boston, it was discontinued after operating almost ten years. The lack of any popular demand for the service and the failure of the Massachusetts legislature to appropriate as much as the Director of the Public Employment Offices thought necessary to maintain all four offices, were additional factors which determined the discontinuance of the Fall River office.

It may rightly be argued that the performance of the office over such a period constitutes no final proof that Fall River does not need a public employment office; or argued equally well that improper administration may have been responsible for its failure to do more business. But in all probability the administration of the Fall River office did not diverge much from that of either the Springfield or Worcester office, the performances of which gave much stronger evidence of the need for a service. It may be concluded, then, that while there may be need in Fall River for a public employment office, it is less than in certain other cities of the state, and that population alone cannot be accepted as the only evidence of the extent of such a need. The industrial development of the city also is a factor and an indication.

[1] Third Annual Report of Massachusetts Public Employment Offices, Boston, 1909, pp. 11, 12, 13.

[2] Ibid., pp. 12–13.

Industrial and Commercial Development of the Area

As already indicated in a previous chapter,[1] the multiplicity of independently controlled centers of employment in an industrial city and their remoteness one from the other; the preponderance of unskilled workers and their lack of organization; and the demand for a considerable number of workers because of continuous expansions or large turnover; all give evidence of need for an organized employment service. Although all of these factors are inter-related and interdependent, the dominant evidence of the need seems to lie in the first two mentioned.

Multiplicity of Employment Centers

As is to be expected, a multiplicity of employment centers is more characteristic of those cities where the industries differ generally in character than of those where they are predominantly similar. In the latter, as we have seen in the case of Fall River, the control of the industries is usually centralized in a few firms whose plants are large. Typical of communities of diversified industry are Milwaukee, Newark, Cincinnati, Rochester, Columbus, Springfield, Cleveland, and St. Louis. Typical of "one industry" communities are Homestead, Holyoke, Lowell, Lawrence, Lynn, and Brockton. It is, therefore, in cities where the industries are heterogeneous that an employment office is most likely to have an opportunity to fill a very vital need. If, in addition to their industrial development, either of these two types of cities is a recognized transportation and commercial center, the opportunity for the service of an employment office is enhanced.

Dispersion of Centers

Demand for space and building regulations are frequently the causes of the dispersion of employment centers. Moreover, many industries require particular kinds of sites, which often cause extreme decentralization. For example, a clothing firm in Cleveland has found that the Italian worker is for its particular processes the most desirable. Recognizing that labor supply is one of its important considerations, it has moved its factory to an Italian

[1] See pp. 55–63, where this subject is also discussed.

neighborhood. Transportation facilities, density of traffic, proximity to raw materials, are other factors which make for the dispersion of the industries of a community.

On the other hand, there is a tendency in the greater cities for certain industries to locate near together. A large majority of the department stores of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities are within a short distance of one another. In New York, garment manufacturing, piano manufacturing, newspaper publishing, and other industries are each well centralized. In these special industries the need of organized assistance for either worker or employer is undoubtedly much less than in places where industrial centers are scattered.

But if scattered, only with immense waste can employers or wage-earners know of all the available workers or vacancies which they are seeking. Even in the less conspicuous cities of diversified industries which contain many independent centers of employment such as Rochester, Dayton, or Newark, this knowledge would be practically impossible. Whereas in such cities as Lawrence or Brockton, whose industries are almost spectacularly homogeneous, the employing centers are few, a fact less true of Detroit and Pittsburgh. These two cities are larger than any of the above and are also big transportation centers. Moreover, such homogeneous industries as steel making and the manufacture of automobiles, which early congregated in them have now developed subsidiary businesses more or less diversified and the dispersion of which is conspicuous.

We may conclude then that the more diverse, numerous, and scattered the industries of any area, the greater the evidence of the need for a public employment service. The application of this principle is illustrated, as already indicated, by the experience of the public employment office in Springfield, Massachusetts, as contrasted with that of the Fall River office.

Lack of Organization Among Less Skilled Workers

If the majority of workers employed in the industries of a given area belong to the skilled group and are highly organized, the unions in all probability would furnish most of the necessary employment service. There are many communities, however, where

the proportion of workers in unions, or skilled, is comparatively small. Or conversely and more exactly, perhaps, there are numerous localities and cities in which the number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers is large. This is true of some of the places where large-scale production has become highly developed. But from the point of view of inability to organize, the semi-skilled may be in the same class with the unskilled. In general, then, the less skilled and less organized the workers employed in the industries of a particular district, the greater opportunity for service a public employment office has.

Continuous Demand for Large Numbers of Workers

It is the normal practice of some industries to hire very large numbers of workers either continuously or periodically. One reason for this is that the market for the total product manufactured has not yet been saturated; another is that the labor turnover is high. In Akron, Ohio, for example, the continuous demand for workers in the rubber industry is probably caused by both expansion and turnover. The hard labor required by the operations, the heat in which work is performed, or a number of other factors are undoubtedly among the causes of the turnover.

Again, the seasonal aspect of certain industries is responsible for their fluctuating demand for workers. During the winter months the lumber camps of the Northwest need thousands of men, and at the end of the season the thousands of workers need as many new jobs. Likewise, in the harvesting of crops in the wheat belt.

In areas characterized by seasonal industries an employment service might operate through seasonal offices such as have been made use of in California, Oregon, and other states.[1] Other regions where large numbers of workers are wanted throughout the year will require a permanent office.

According to the demand, then, for a large number of workers, distributed either regularly or irregularly throughout the year, an area exhibits the need for a public employment service to be operated seasonally or continuously.

[1] See pages 151 and 536.

Photo by Angelus, Portland, Oregon

A Corner in the Public Employment Office in Portland, Oregon

At the farther side at the right a low partition divided the room; in the partition was a row of windows similar to those used in the larger United States post offices. Through these, applicants for work were interviewed. The same arrangement was also provided by the Men's Division of the Service in Seattle. Headquarters at Washington tried to discourage the use of blackboards as here shown, but the far western offices insisted that they were essential to effective work.

Flow of Labor Into and Through Any Center

In a somewhat different category from population and the character of industrial development, is the third indication of the need of an employment office in any center; namely, a more or less continuous flow of labor into and through it. This third indication is closely related to the other two. Indeed, the industries of a community and their location with respect to transportation facilities are responsible for it.

As already suggested, the centers into and through which a current of labor continuously flows may contain one industry or diversified industries. Of the one-industry centers where flow of labor conspicuously gives evidence of the need for an employment office, Butte, Montana, is perhaps the outstanding example. It is the only industrial center between Minneapolis and Fargo and points northwest, particularly Spokane and Seattle. "Butte seems to be just a natural stopping off place," said the superintendent of the United States Employment Service there. "Everyone has heard of this mining camp, and if they're on their way east or west in search of work, they practically always try this place. Their first application is at the office of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. If they don't get a job there or don't take it, they usually drop in here. We can often place them on ranches if they're the right kind of men. The ranch owners depend on us to get them workers. They know there is a supply of labor going through here all the time. Where else could they get it, anyway? No, we don't place many people in Butte itself; some, though."

In centers where the industries are diversified, flow of labor does not, of itself, give such clear evidence of the need for an employment office as it may in a one-industry city. In Springfield, Massachusetts, and in Rochester, both important railway centers, this flow is so merged with and balanced by other factors that it is not particularly visible. However, in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, San Francisco, it can be measured to some degree by the number of fee-charging labor agencies whose applicants are predominantly transient and whose orders for workers are from out-of-town firms.

CHAPTER XIV

TYPE AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES FOR ANY CITY OR LOCAL AREA

I. TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

THE employment service for any local area may consist of one or more general offices, one or more specialized offices, or a combination of both, with provision for their administration.

General Offices

Broadly the term "general" may be applied to those offices whose service is available to all applicants and employers in any given local area or section of it. A general office, however, usually maintains two or more divisions: one for men and boys, and one for women and girls; or it may maintain a special junior division as well as a handicapped, and a professional division and such others as are needed and can be provided. Each division, if the volume of business is large enough, is organized into departments, usually on an occupational basis. All, as a rule, are housed under one roof.

In smaller areas the general office corresponds in the mercantile field to the "general store"; in the larger industrial centers to the department store.

Specialized Offices

It is the specialty shop, as opposed to the general or department store, that is the prototype for the specialized employment office. Its service is limited either to certain occupations or to certain groups of applicants otherwise classified. It may or may not be administratively responsible to the superintendent of the local service. During the war, for example, the specialized offices for longshoremen were operated as an independent unit of the United States Employment Service. Likewise to a considerable degree was the professional division in New York.

It may happen that offices which in theory are created as general

offices, in practice become specialized ones. This is likely to be true of general offices in sections of large industrial centers where either the population or the industries or both are to a very considerable degree homogeneous. An office in New York City on Forty-fourth Street near Sixth Avenue naturally became an office primarily for hotel and restaurant workers; one in a certain section of New Orleans, an office for Negroes.

Seasonal offices, open only certain parts of the year, are a type of the specialized office. They are established to recruit labor for seasonal industries; lumbering, for example, and various forms of agriculture, particularly the harvesting of wheat and fruit.

II. TYPE AND NUMBER OF OFFICES ALREADY ESTABLISHED IN LOCAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Prior to the establishment of the United States Employment Service, only two cities in this country, Chicago and Denver, had provided more than one general public employment office. From the establishment of the Illinois Free Employment Offices in 1899 to their reorganization in 1915, there were three offices in Chicago: one on the North Side, one on the West Side, and one on the South Side. Each operated as an independent unit of the state service without any organized co-operation whatever. In 1915, in accordance with the amendment passed that year, the three independent offices were consolidated into one central office with a special branch for unskilled men applicants.

The statute of 1907, which created the Colorado Public Employment Service, provided for two general offices in Denver. After operating quite independently for some twelve years, these also in 1919 were combined into one.

Experience has convincingly demonstrated in both Chicago and Denver that a much more efficient employment service could be rendered if the appropriation available were expended on one central office with specialized divisions and departments rather than on two or three general offices.

It was the emphasis on the recruiting of labor for war industries that was responsible for the establishment during the war of a number of offices in each of our larger commercial and industrial

centers. On the theory that workers could be reached better in their home district, the United States Employment Service adopted the policy of bringing the offices to them. In few large centers were less than three or four offices established. On October 1, 1918, 34 were claimed by New York City.

It was in New York City that the most definite and complete policy of geographical decentralization was worked out and inaugurated. A survey was made of the population classified by blocks and nationality, and of the industries, classified both by the product they manufactured and by the number and sex of the persons employed. Estimates were made of the number of commercial establishments and the persons they employed. On the basis of the findings, general offices were established in population centers and special offices in selected locations. All functioned through a clearing house which made available, theoretically, to any one office the unfilled vacancies or unplaced applicants of any other office.

Each general office was organized into a men's, a women's, and, where funds permitted, a junior division. Nor were the applicants or industries of any district rigidly required to register their demands at that office, though it was believed that the convenience of the general or district office and its assumed ability to save for the applicant time, carfare, and energy in seeking a vacancy, its purpose to place him as near as possible to his home, and to render both worker and employer a more intimate and consequently a more satisfactory service, would automatically attract both. Behind the general office was the neighborhood idea and the desire to make the office in peace times a kind of neighborhood center. Thus, the employment interests of both the workers and the employers of the district would be promoted. Employment service, it was argued, is of too personal a nature to be organized on the basis of large-scale production. Rather it must be small enough to enable interviewers to know their clients in all their various employment relationships, to create for the worker of the district and for the employer, if there be such, a distinct atmosphere of personal service.

A large general office situated in the business section of the city and occupying an entire building was established, as also were

special offices for unskilled male labor, one for skilled male labor and one for clerical workers of both sexes. A general office in the hotel center of Manhattan, as has been shown, became predominantly an office for hotel and restaurant workers. One on the lower East Side served an almost exclusively Jewish clientèle.

Altogether this extensive wartime service was too short-lived and was operated under too abnormal and inauspicious conditions to have evolved any adequate basis for determining the kind and number of offices for any local service. It did little more than indicate the practical difficulties entailed in a geographically decentralized service as against a centralized one; such as the inherent impersonality of clearance, the duplication of applicants' and employers' orders in several offices, the solicitation of orders from the same employer by several offices, the necessity of providing satisfactory supervision, and the like.

III. IN CANADA

Altogether, public employment offices have been established in 67 different cities or towns in Canada.[1] In 62 of these but one office, assumably a general one, is operated. In Vancouver, with

Offices of the Canadian Employment Service

There were 72 local offices, 6 provincial clearing houses, and 2 interprovincial clearing houses in operation in this service in October, 1923.

[1] The *Labour Gazette*, August, 1923 (back cover). Ottawa.

a population of 117,217,[1] two offices are maintained, one of which is for unskilled male labor only. In Toronto and Halifax, whose population numbers 58,372 and 521,893 respectively, the service has been organized into two sections, each housed separately; one for men and one for women. In Winnipeg, with a population of 179,087, there is in addition to a general office consisting of six departments, a special one for unskilled male labor. Regina has a special office for teachers as well as a general one for applicants of all other occupations. The latest population figures for Regina are 34,432.

IV. IN GREAT BRITAIN

The type and number of offices established in local areas by the British Labour Exchanges have been conditioned to a considerable extent by their administration of unemployment insurance. Again it is the general office which predominates. However, specialized offices have been established to deal with such groups as longshoremen, cotton porters, and workers in the building trades.

Of the specialized offices, the Special Building Trades Employment Exchange situated in Tavistock Street, London, is perhaps the most notable. It was created "as a result of earnest work and thought on the part of both Trade Unions and the London Master Builders' Association."

A committee representing the building trade employers and corresponding trade unions has been established by the Minister of Labour to assist in the management of this Exchange. Applicants are registered quite irrespective of their place of residence. And particulars of vacancies are received "not only direct from employers in the immediate vicinity, but also of building trade vacancies notified to and not filled immediately by other exchanges in the Metropolitan Police area, for which the Special Exchange will, in fact, act as a clearing office. Further, the Special Exchange will through a National Clearing House receive the particulars of unfilled vacancies throughout the country."

"The building consists of five stories with floor space of 19,500 square feet, and has these special features:

[1] The Canada Year Book, 1921. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, p. 108.

(a) A reading room, provided with suitable newspapers and periodicals.
(b) A refreshment bar, in which light refreshments, food, tobacco, and cigarettes are obtainable.
(c) A tool store, in which workmen may leave their kits of tools between finishing one job and proceeding to another.
(d) A large waiting room on the ground floor, with seating accommodation for 500, which, in conjunction with a lift by which applicants are conveyed at a suitable regulated rate to the Registration Room upstairs, avoids congestion in the latter.
(e) Large meeting room available for use by associations of either employers or workmen, to whom permission for the purpose may be given by the London Building Trades Employment Exchange Committee.
(f) The inclusion among the staff of men with practical experience of the building trade, thus insuring so far as it is possible that all applicants will be sympathetically dealt with.[1]"

The number of offices in the local areas of the British Labour Exchanges varies considerably. Altogether the entire system in June, 1920, included 394 exchanges and 1,049 branch employment offices.[2] Usually there is but one general exchange, with or without branch offices in any one district or local area. There are five grades of exchanges, the grade being determined by the volume of business done, and five grades of managers. An exchange manager is responsible not only for the work of his exchange, but also for the supervision of any branch employment offices within the area.

"Branch Employment Offices," to quote again from the Minutes of the Committee of Enquiry, "serve small towns or rural areas where the work does not justify the establishment of an exchange.

[1] Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee of Enquiry of the Ministry of Labour into the Work of the Employment Exchanges, 1921, Appendix 26, pp. 453–454. London Government.

[2] An exchange in the British system does not necessarily mean a single office. In many cities one exchange includes several separate office premises. The map on page 138 shows the distribution of separate office premises, exclusive of offices for juniors only, at the end of 1923. There has been material reduction in the number of offices in the British system (that is, in England, Scotland, and Wales) since 1920.

They are staffed by Branch Managers who as a rule render part-time service only and follow other occupations.

"Branch Managers provide their own premises."

V. ABSENCE OF ANY STANDARD FOR DETERMINING TYPE, NUMBER, AND SIZE OF OFFICES FOR ANY LOCAL AREA

Nowhere, in so far as we could learn, has anything like the most economical unit with reference to the plant of an employment office been determined. Therefore, any standard which might be utilized scientifically to indicate the need of a given local area in terms of type, size, and number of offices is wanting. Even more fundamental, as already pointed out, is an analysis of the need for public employment service in relation to the workers and the industries of any given community. The whole problem is still in its early experimental period and seems for some time to be doomed to the trial and error method of solution. A few suggestions, however, are possible.

VI. PROBABLE TYPE AND NUMBER OF OFFICES IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

In Cities of 25,000 to 300,000 Population

In any comprehensive system of employment offices for this country, the great majority of cities will very probably be adequately served by a single "general" office—if well equipped, adequately staffed and departmentalized, and efficiently managed. Such an office would seem under normal circumstances to be sufficient effectively to take care of the volume of business which a public employment office in cities of from 25,000 to 300,000 population would be likely in the next five or ten years to attract. Three hundred thousand is an arbitrary limit, based primarily on the experience of certain single offices in attempting to serve such a population unit. As previously indicated,[1] the allocation of one office to serve fixed numbers of people should be modified to meet special needs, depending on the type of industry in particular areas and the flow of labor through them. This allocation,

[1] See pages 232–237.

however, would take care of most of the cities in this country above 25,000, as 92 per cent of the 287 cities which in 1920 contained 25,000 inhabitants and over had less than 300,000 population.

In Areas Having Over 300,000 Population

In our commercial and industrial centers which contain a population of over 300,000, the ultimate adequacy or practicability of any single office housed under one roof is subject to greater question.

Factors Which Make for Geographical Decentralization

Certain factors militate against complete geographical centralization of employment service. Broadly, there are four: (1) the remoteness of centers of labor supply or demand, or both, from any one point within the city; (2) the occupational or social homogeneity of selected groups; (3) the inherent impersonality of large-scale organization; and (4) from a very practical standpoint, inability to pay for central quarters.

Remoteness of Centers of Labor Supply and Demand or Both. Within most of the larger industrial cities there exist a number of smaller communities. These may be distributed so widely over an extensive area that residents would find it very inconvenient to frequent a central office. Particularly if the central office needed to recruit workers to fill the demands from employers, might it seem advisable to establish offices in these smaller communities. When the need is merely one of securing orders, the comparative ease with which orders may be telephoned to a central office makes unnecessary the establishment of separate general branches in localities where there are a number of industrial plants, but little if any resident population. In isolated communities, where the resident population is large and industrial plants frequent, a branch office would be more likely to function satisfactorily in an industrial section than if it was allotted to a section mainly residential.

Though in some local areas the distance from any central point might be comparatively short, certain topographical features, a river or other barrier, for example, may so divide the area into quite distinct parts as to make two offices desirable. This need

would also occur where there was a lack of transportation service from the population districts to the main thoroughfares of the area.

The Homogeneity of Selected Groups of Applicants. Certain groups of applicants may be occupationally and socially so distinct from one another as to make desirable the establishment of special offices for them. Professional, clerical, and skilled workers, for example, might much more readily apply at an office designed for them alone than at one which also served unskilled labor.

Certain racial and nationality groups, as well as migratory and casual workers, often geographically segregated and homogeneous in character, present such dominant variations from all others as to require the establishment of an office within their own neighborhood if they are to be served.

The removal of some of the divisions or departments of a central office into quarters appropriately situated might, from the employer's point of view, emphasize the idea of specialization and therefore constitute a strong publicity appeal for such divisions or departments.

Impersonality of Large-Scale Organization. Placement is a distinctly personal service. The degree of satisfactory service which can be rendered to applicants and employers depends upon how well known they are to the employment office interviewers. The volume of business which any division or department of a single office in centers of over 300,000 population would be likely to do with its limited number of interviewers would practically preclude any thorough knowledge of its applicants and employers.

It is the belief of some students of the problem that an employment office can render a continuously satisfactory service only if organized into small units so that the staff may intimately know its clientèle. The very nature of large-scale organization would seem to make such intimate acquaintance impossible.

Inability to Pay for Adequate Central Quarters. The practical difficulty of securing adequate central quarters for a public employment service in the larger cities at any cost it can afford is far from a slight one. In New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia the rental of suitable space on a main thoroughfare would probably be so much greater than the total sum required to maintain a

number of offices situated in different parts of the city as to be almost prohibitive and, therefore, to necessitate decentralization.

Whether geographical decentralization should be in the form of general or specialized offices, only the individual needs of each city can determine. The specialized offices are administratively much simpler to operate and seem to be more in accord with growing tendencies in the organization of industry. Moreover, the experience of Chicago, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee points, since each at the time of our investigation was operating a separate office for unskilled male labor, in the direction of the specialized office.

A Single General Office the Logical Beginning in Cities of Over 300,000 Population

These, then, are the difficulties in geographical centralization. But however inadequate a single general office may be in these larger centers, it seems in the beginning, and in this stage of public employment service development, the practical starting point. A few of the more important considerations pointing to this conclusion may be noted.

A single office or a physically centralized service theoretically, at least, achieves most directly and simply the purpose for which an employment service is instituted. That purpose is the organization of the labor market to the most practicable degree possible by pooling the demands of the employers for workers, and of workers for employment, to the end that such demands may be filled with the greatest possible satisfaction. The likelihood that any worker will secure the vacancy which he is seeking and any employer the worker, should be greater if all the available vacancies for workers known to the Service are assembled at one office than if they are distributed among several. Moreover, the so-called inter-occupational mobility of workers is a factor which should make centralization a more satisfactory form of organization both to the workers themselves and to employers. Thus a clerical worker, who can also serve as a chauffeur or operate a drill press, may find in one office a vacancy in the last occupation provided none exists for him either as a clerical worker or as a chauffeur. Also such centralization gives to the employer access "on the spot" to all available applicants waiting for employment.

Local clearance has been advocated as a feasible device for integrating the demand and supply of the different local offices. It is supposed to make available to any one office all the vacancies and applicants available at any one time throughout the others. Experience, however, has shown that its operation is fraught with so much friction that it is doubtful whether it can ever approximate a one hundred per cent centralization.[1]

The possibility of organizing into departments according to the kind of work done and of developing specialists in particular lines seems greater in a central service than in a geographically decentralized one. A personnel of 20 concentrated in one office would probably admit of a finer division of labor than would the same total distributed over four offices of five persons each. In the latter case, for example, it might seem necessary to have four telephone operators, while two might be ample to operate the switchboard in a centralized office. Likewise four superintendents would be required, each responsible for the performance of certain publicity and other functions, while in one centralized office, though a certain number of supervisors might be necessary, they probably would not number four, and the publicity and other functions could more likely be delegated to specialists. So with the operations of the placement process and the organization of departments and sections.

The publicity value of a single central office would probably be greater than that of two or three branch offices. One strategically situated office, well-equipped and staffed, will inspire confidence when several modest ones will fail to do so.

From other administrative aspects one central office is a much less complex problem than are decentralized offices. There is no necessity for districting the area or making regulations with regard to the place where orders shall be received and applicants registered. Moreover, with the exception of rental expense, the cost of establishing and operating one large office would seem less than that involved in maintaining several smaller ones.

The foregoing arguments seem in the early and developing stages of a local service, at least, to outweigh those which may operate for decentralization later on; that is, the remoteness of centers of

[1]See further discussion of local clearance beginning on page 396.

labor supply and demand, or both; the homogeneity of selected groups of applicants; the impersonality of large-scale operation; and the difficulties attendant on securing adequate central quarters. To put it another way, since a central office appears to contribute most directly to the organizing of the labor market —one of the main purposes of a public employment service—since it admits of more specialization and functionalization, commands more prestige, is more easily administered and more economical than a geographically decentralized service, it would seem to offer itself as the most logical and practical method of initiating a local service in the larger cities.

PART THREE

METHODS OF ORGANIZING AND PERFORMING THE PLACEMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS OF A LOCAL OFFICE

By
LESLIE E. WOODCOCK

(CHAPTERS XV, XVI, XXIV, XXV, AND XXVII
By MARY La DAME)

CHAPTER XV

DEPARTMENTAL AND FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION IN A GENERAL OFFICE

THE boundary line between questions which have to do with the general organization and administration of a nation-wide public employment service and those pertaining to its local organization and administration cannot be drawn sharply. Questions of supervision, or the compiling of statistical data from office records, for example, need to be considered in both connections. The significant or distinguishing functions or operations of a local employment office, however, center around the employer's order for workers and the applicant who is seeking work. It is with the suitable organization into departments and by functions to be performed, the economical and effective alignment of duties in the bureaus, the adequate recording of these orders for workers and the registering of applicants for work, the exercise of judgment as to the suitability of particular applicants for particular vacancies, the ascertainment of the result when the former have been sent to positions, the securing of staff workers and their supervision, the maintenance of sufficient contacts with the public, the keeping of necessary records, and the choosing of proper office space and locations that the office is chiefly concerned. These various functions will be considered in the chapters which follow. In discussing the first five of these—those having to do more directly than the others with the placement process—the steps will be taken up in chronological order just as a new application and a new order would be handled in their natural course. By carrying on the two processes side by side it will be possible to keep them in their proper relation.

I. DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Departmental organization in industry implies a division of labor with respect to a particular product or class of work; for

example, garment manufacturing, paper making, fruit growing, wheat raising.[1] So in an employment service it is a division with respect to particular groups of applicants, that is, men, women, juniors, immigrants, or others. All the operations involved are performed within the limitations of a special category of persons or things.

The Reason for Departmental Organization

All operations which extend over a wide range of persons or things must for their efficient performance be subdivided. Obviously in an employment office which does a large volume of business, an interviewer who deals with all applicants, men, women, and juniors, and with the whole range of occupations, can hardly in any period of time allowable give very satisfactory service. Interviewers are not omniscient—indeed they are very far from being so; they cannot be specialists in all lines. If, on the other hand, an interviewer deals only with a selected group of applicants, farm workers, for example, his chance of rendering satisfactory service, even if he is limited in time, would be greatly enhanced.

He would in the first place be already familiar with farm employment. In the second place, concentration of his attention and his performance on this one occupation would intensify his knowledge and perfect his judgment about it. Moreover, the more applicants can be separated into groups, on the basis of some sound criteria, the more effective can be the employment service given them.

Criteria for Departmental Organization

Certain principles of selection have been evolved for determining departmental organization in a local employment service.

Sex

The most universally applied of these principles is sex. In practically all general offices in this country, in Great Britain and in Canada, special provision is made for women and girl appli-

[1] See discussion of this subject in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXXXV, September, 1919, p. 94.

cants. Such provision almost always entails a separate entrance and one or more women interviewers. That women should be required to use the same entrance and waiting room as men applicants and to compete with the latter for service from men interviewers is patently so socially undesirable as to need no further comment. Moreover, the lack of any special provision would and did, in the early offices of this country at least, deter women applicants from frequenting the office. The fact that until recently the occupations in which the less skilled women were engaged were so distinct from those in which men were employed, and the fact that the employer specified definitely whether he preferred a man or a woman worker, made specialization of the service for women a natural and simple procedure.

Occupation

The second criterion applies after the first has been determined within the men's and women's divisions. Here skill, or in more definite terms occupation, is the determining factor. Applicants of similar occupations are handled together. If the volume of business in an office is sufficient, departments occupationally distinct are established.

Age

A third determinant, which although generally accepted is as yet little applied because of lack of funds, makes a particular age group, junior workers, the basis for a division of labor.

The maximum age limit adopted by the Junior Section of our war emergency employment service was twenty-one. In Great Britain it is eighteen. For the United States we believe the twenty-one year limit to be best.[1] The requirements of this group, conditioned by its significance to society and its inability to judge of its own desires or qualifications or the relative merits and fitness of various possible employments, vary so greatly from those of the adult group as to make necessary the adoption of special methods. Hence the desirability of organizing the local employment service for juniors into a separate division. Within the division, when there is a sufficient volume, the work is usually

[1]See also page 579.

allocated on a sex basis. A department for boys and one for girls is instituted, and again within these respective departments subdivisions may be made occupationally. Only by organizing the work for juniors into a separate division can expert direction, desirable policies and procedure, the elimination of duplication in co-operative relations with schools, employers, and other affiliated groups be secured. To provide interviewers for boys in the men's division, and for girls in the women's division, is to make these interviewers responsible respectively to the head of the two divisions. To do this is to sacrifice that expertness of judgment and service which unified and intensive service produces.

Physical Handicaps

A fourth principle of selection is to be found in the physical handicaps of applicants. The requirements of the so-called handicapped group, those suffering from physical disability, make particular methods and trained interviewers imperative.

Other Possible Criteria

Race, nationality, or any characteristic common to a number of applicants which is of sufficient importance to differentiate their need from that of others constitutes the basis for special service. It is the dominant variation of a group that acts as a determinant. Among professional workers, their training and fitness for certain occupations may vary so from that of other groups as to constitute the basis for the organization of a unit to serve them which would supersede a division by sex. In a professional division there might be a men's and a women's department, though in a teachers' section of this division the organization would be on the basis of the subjects which the applicants could teach, rather than on that of sex.[1]

II. FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION

Functional organization implies a division of labor with respect to "a particular function, activity or step in the performance of work regardless of the specialty to which it refers." The function-

[1] For discussion of the methods of these departments that serve special groups see Part Four.

alist "performs one part of the task, such as the taking of orders or the registering of applicants, whereas the specialist performs the entire task."[1]

Reason for Functional Organization

It is evident that any extensive functional organization in an employment office would be possible only if the amount of business were very large. The same results then accrue as from departmental organization; namely, expertness and economy. Qualitatively such subdivision assures proficiency of performance; quantitatively, greater volume.

Any discussion of the functional division of labor within a local unit must be premised by a statement of the operations or functions involved.

Classification of Functions in an Employment Office

The functions of an employment office may be classified broadly as those concerned with the placement process, and those with administration. It is but to promote and make as effective as possible the former that the latter exist.

Placement Functions Outlined

The placement function of any local unit of a federal-state-local employment service is made up of various operations:

1. Recording orders received by telephone or mail[2]
2. Soliciting orders
3. Receiving applicants
4. Registering applicants[3]

[1] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXXXV, September, 1919, pp. 94–95.

[2] A number of terms have come to possess more or less technical and special significance in placement work, and require definition.

An "order" is a request for a worker or workers with identical qualifications, the request being made by an employer to an employment office. It includes data as to the qualifications needed and conditions of employment. See Chapter XVII, Employers' Orders, for fuller discussion of the term.

[3] By "registration" is meant the recording upon the proper form in regard to an applicant some or all of the particulars which are necessary to intelligent referral. It is thus clear that a person can be interviewed without being registered. Or vice versa, the applicant may be registered after filling out a blank and mailing it to the office, without having been interviewed at all.

5. Interviewing[1] and referring[2] applicants to positions
6. Recruiting applicants
7. Clearing unfilled orders and unplaced applicants
8. Verifying referrals[2]
9. Determining the activity of orders and applicants and notifying applicants to call in reference to a vacancy
10. Filing order, registration and verification[3] forms.
11. Recording the performance of the office and gathering such other information concerning labor conditions as may be required.

In reality the primary operations of the placement process terminate, in the order in which we have listed them, with the first seven items. The referral of applicants to employers or of unfilled orders or unplaced applicants to the clearing house completes the initial process. All the subsequent operations, namely, 8, 9, 10, and 11, are record-keeping ones, but nevertheless essential to the proper functioning of the placement process.

Administrative Functions Outlined

In the administration of the local employment service are included the following:

1. The formulation of such policies and procedures to meet local conditions as are delegated by the state director to the local service

[1] By "interview" is meant the conversation which takes place between an applicant and the proper officer, in which the qualifications and desires of the applicant are brought out and in which a decision leading to referral may be made.

[2] "Referral" is a term which has been coined spontaneously in employment offices throughout the country to avoid confusion with the word "reference" which has been used to designate the names of persons who will recommend an applicant. "Referral" is the process of arming an applicant with the proper credentials and sending him to an employer as a candidate for a position previously listed at the office.

The essential feature of an "interview" is the competency of the one who conducts it to come to a decision in regard to referral; the "interviewer" is an officer with authority to make that decision. On the other hand, such a decision may be made from documentary or other evidence such as correspondence, a previous registration card, recommendations, and so forth, without an actual interview. For convenience, however, and because an interview so often does precede referral, we will speak of the persons on the employment office staff who have authority to send applicants to positions as interviewers whether or not an actual interview takes place. The United States Employment Service used the term "examiner" in this general connection but did not carefully restrict its meaning. When examiner is used in this report it is synonymous with interviewer.

[3] The process of determining the result of the referral of an applicant to an employer is known as verification.

2. Initial organization
3. Training of personnel
4. Supervision
5. Publicity
6. Office management. (This consists of telephone service, mail, correspondence, equipment and supplies, housekeeping, time keeping, accounting and general office recording, including general report making.)

Who Performs the Various Functions

However limited or extensive a local unit of an employment service may be, all of the above functions, placement and administration, are inherent parts of it. Who performs each function and to what extent each admits of performance by one or more special workers will next be discussed.

Placement Functions Discussed[1]

Order-Taking. Orders received over the telephone are recorded either by interviewers or by a special worker. The small office admits of but one of these alternatives. The large office, of both. As to which person in the large office more satisfactorily performs the task there is considerable controversy.

Among the offices which have delegated order-taking to a special order clerk, are the Men's Divisions of the Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Dayton, Rochester, and Worcester offices; and the Women's Division of the Cleveland office. This also was the practice with the larger Bureaus for Returned Soldiers and Sailors.

On the other hand, the superintendent of the state employment office in Boston, and the superintendents of many other offices, have delegated order-taking to the various interviewers; under no circumstances would they have it performed by special clerks.

For the sake of brevity the various points of view on this question will be given in outline form, without extended discussion.

[1] See Chapter XVII, Employers' Orders, and several others which follow for further discussion of the Placement and Administrative Functions of a general office. The present chapter, as already indicated, deals with the division of labor in the office; that is, with decisions as to who shall perform the various types of work to be done. Later chapters deal with how they should be done.

Who Shall Take Employers' Orders?

The interviewer who expects to "fill" the order; because

1. No one else can give as understanding service or as much information about the labor market to the employer.
2. In skilled trades or professional occupations the interviewer is presumably a specialist, knowing all the technical trade names, technical processes, which it would be impossible for one clerk taking all orders to possess for all occupations.
3. If the interviewer takes the order personally he will retain much information that is in the nature of "color," "atmosphere," "personality of employer," "feeling," that is invaluable to discriminating service, but which is lost if anyone else takes the order because this subsidiary information cannot be transferred to paper, or at least never is.
4. The interviewer may also obtain valuable information regarding previous placements or referrals to that employer.
5. He will have a much more personal interest and responsibility in filling the vacancy if he has had the contact with the employer.

A clerk, with actual experience as an interviewer, who takes all orders and also verifies placements over the telephone and makes the daily report (with such aid in clerical work as may be necessary); because

1. This division of labor saves *time.*
   (a) The specialist learns to get all essential information with less extraneous conversation; "standardized conversation" attained without the employer's knowing it, saves minutes in each order taken.
   (b) It relieves interviewers of constant interruptions in their work with applicants, interruptions which distract the attention of both, that break in on the personal relationship between them and lengthen the interview. If relieved of taking orders an interviewer can concentrate better on the placing of workers and can serve more of them.
2. Repetition of the process gives an *expertness* to the order taker which enables him to get more details and to miss no

essential points; even in the supposedly technical occupations the significant questions can be learned. (The exceptional case would at once be recognized and turned over to the interviewer anyway.)

3. The employer will be better satisfied.
   (a) The employer comes to recognize one voice and to know its personality. He feels that this person understands what he wants and because of continuity of contact with him is better satisfied. When the same voice is the one to ask solicitously whether a certain applicant referred to him for a position has gone to work, the effect is strengthened. (In Worcester, Massachusetts, one order clerk has taken all orders, men's and women's, for six years.)
   (b) The same clerk always at the telephone becomes acquainted with the particular demands of the larger employers and is able to pass on much information with an order. Otherwise separate interviewers trying to fill orders must each learn individually, and employers feel that their previously expressed wishes are of no avail.
   (c) The clerk who takes each order, and then verifies the placement in regard to it, comes to have a personal responsibility in successfully filling it; because he is the one who, if the applicant sent is not satisfactory, receives the employer's criticism, he acts as the latter's representative in "kicking" to the interviewer.

4. This position affords the best opportunity of any in the office for checking up the service rendered on each order. If the order clerk is the head of the men's department and the most experienced man in it, absolutely responsible for its success, he holds the key position to supervise each transaction.

There is, however, one serious difficulty in the way of functional order-taking; namely, that order-taking must almost necessarily be confined to but one or perhaps two clerks, and that each cannot receive and record more than one order at a time. If this function were performed by all the interviewers on the staff the number of orders which could be received simultaneously would

be larger. Employment office business is very irregularly distributed over the days of the week and the hours of the day. It usually reaches its peak-load on Monday, declining progressively each succeeding day of the week, and at about eleven o'clock each day, whence it abruptly begins to fall off. Consequently, if four or five employers telephone orders to the men's division at nine-fifteen on Monday morning, and four or five more at nine-sixteen, it is patent that one clerk or even two, expert as they may be, cannot handle them all at once, as would more likely be possible if five interviewers should take the orders simultaneously. On the other hand, the demand for workers is by no means equally distributed throughout all occupations or groups of occupations. In an office where each interviewer receives the orders for the occupation delegated to him, those to whom common labor is assigned are likely to have at any one time two or three employers waiting on the telephone to give their orders, while interviewers to whom the skilled trades and clerical work are assigned may have none. In either case, whether order-taking is performed by one or more special clerks or by all the interviewers, congestion is likely, and it must be one of the chief responsibilities of the superintendent somehow to reduce it to the lowest minimum commensurate with satisfactory service.

Soliciting Orders. It has been the policy of most public employment offices to wait for orders rather than to go out and get them. In some of the more progressive offices, however, the superintendents themselves and the interviewers have visited employers periodically in order to secure their business and goodwill. But until the armistice was signed very few offices employed special representatives to procure orders, and with varying results.

The state public employment office in Boston, which employed "agents" to solicit business from employers, gave up the experiment after the first few months because "experience showed that it was expensive and unsatisfactory." In their stead a telephone used exclusively for outgoing calls was installed, and a clerk assigned to it to keep in frequent communication with employers. According to the superintendent, this proved a valuable substitute for traveling solicitors.

On the other hand, the superintendent of the California offices,

who delegated in 1916 two solicitors to the Los Angeles bureau (maintained jointly by the state and the city) and furnished them each with a Ford to tour the district made up of eight counties, was most enthusiastic about the results they achieved.

The most extensive soliciting of employers' orders by special workers was instituted by the larger offices of the United States Employment Service and by the special Soldiers' and Sailors' Bureaus.

At the beginning of the demobilization period the New York City Section of the United States Employment Service employed a "Flying Squadron" to procure orders. This was composed of both volunteers and paid workers. Members of the squadron "flew" each morning from its division headquarters in the state administrative office, and all too frequently alighted upon some employer who, having already been solicited by other representatives of the squadron, by the interviewers of one or two or even three of the district offices, by a field worker from the Professional Section, and perhaps by one from the Junior Division, accorded them no very cordial reception.

"I've been giving my orders," stated one of the employers, "to the ———— Branch ever since it started. The Superintendent drops in every so often and so does Miss ————, the head of the Women's Division. I know them; they know me; know what I want. What's the idea—all these solicitors? Just look at this bunch of cards. If we ran our business that way, how many customers do you think we'd have?"

The experience of the Flying Squadron demonstrated at least one thing—the necessity for the most careful organization of the soliciting function.

The Re-employment Bureau of New York City employed 12 "procurement men." According to the executive officer in charge they were an indispensable part of the machinery, as necessary to the Bureau as salesmen to a manufacturing or commercial business, and a part that demanded for its efficient performance special abilities.

Most of the larger fee-charging employment agencies also employ representatives to secure orders for workers.

Some public employment office superintendents, however, are

much averse to having orders solicited by one or more persons employed only for this purpose. They favor the performance of this function by interviewers. With some adaptation the same points of view cited in favor of order-taking by interviewers and by special order clerks are applicable here.[1]

If the soliciting of orders is performed by workers especially employed for this business, it may be combined with order-taking over the telephone into a single department.

Receiving Applicants. The duties entailed in receiving applicants is performed in most offices by the staff worker who is situated nearest the entrance. Simplicity of layout and signs aid considerably in properly routing the applicant. That these fail in the larger offices to prevent him from aimlessly wandering about or from interrogating several or the wrong interviewers, or from feeling altogether bewildered and timid, goes without saying. Much more satisfactory is the provision of a "floorman" in the men's division, or a reception clerk in the women's, junior, or other special divisions. The state employment office in Boston was the first to employ a floorman. In most of the larger offices of the wartime service they were also provided. In some offices, as in Columbus, Ohio, the superintendent acted in this capacity.

A floorman usually stands near the entrance, greets and directs each applicant; he also circulates about the floor, preventing congestion and maintaining discipline generally. The reception clerk, as in the New York office of the Professional Section of the United States Employment Service, may occupy a desk near the entrance of the division to which she is assigned, there receiving and directing each applicant. She may provide for the dispatch of applicants to interviewers by the operation of a buzzer system, or by the distribution of colored discs on which numbers are printed, the color designating the interviewer and the number the sequence of the applicant. Through both the floorman and the reception clerk, though each may discharge certain additional duties, the function of receiving applicants is performed.

Registering Applicants. Registration may be performed either by the applicant himself or by a member of the employment office staff.

[1] See page 260.

In favor of having the applicant fill out his own registration form, the following points are urged:

1. The intelligence of the applicant is indicated by the way in which he answers the form questions.
2. Certain personal characteristics, neatness, for example, are indicated that a clerk would not learn if he wrote out the registration form himself.
3. The applicant's clerical ability is directly demonstrated.
4. The time of writing out the card is saved to the office.
5. If the applicant reads the questions he will not resent them as much as if they are asked of him. He will see how they hang together and will appreciate their necessity.

On the other hand, a great many experienced employment officials take the opposite view and argue thus:

1. That all the ability that is shown in the filling out of a card is clerical, valuable only for workers in occupations which require this particular attainment. The great majority of positions do not require clerical ability.
2. That personality is not indicated in any way that we can safely interpret.
3. That it takes as much office time, first to give the applicant a card and to explain its use, and then to look over it in detail to make sure that it is complete, as it does for the office to fill it out in the first place.
4. That most of the cards would be partly illegible whether written by laborers or college graduates; whereas cards filled out by a member of the office staff would be in a concise and uniform hand.
5. That applicants do not answer questions satisfactorily nor give the information needed; whereas a member of the office staff would determine the data which would later be significant.
6. That a sample of the applicant's handwriting is obtained by simply having him sign his name at the bottom of the card.

In practice and by consensus of opinion the latter method seems to have proved more satisfactory. The entire employment systems of England and Canada employ it save when out-of-town applicants apply by mail. Milwaukee, which as already stated has had one of the best offices in the United States, has given a lengthy trial to both methods. For three or four years applicants filled out their own cards; for the last several years interviewers have done it. The superintendent, who has been with the office during the entire period, prefers the present system and gives sub-

stantially the reasons listed above. A similar change in method has been made in Columbus by a superintendent who at the time of our investigation had been there ten years. Examination in different offices of a great many cards which had been filled out by applicants showed that the information about experience and training was entirely inadequate and that the interviewers had failed to supplement what applicants had written down.

Whether registration shall be performed by the applicant himself or by a member of the employment office staff depends somewhat upon the function which the registration card is expected to perform. If it is merely to carry a few routine facts of name, address, age, so that a record of the service rendered by the office can be kept, it does not matter who fills it out. But if it should state experience with sufficient exactitude and completeness to determine a man's fitness for a position, great care must be exercised in writing it. However, clerical and professional workers may be permitted to fill out their own cards, when others are not. Even in the case of the former it is necessary to check up statements on the card with those given in the interview, to make sure that the data are complete. The following compromise might be satisfactory: Draft the card so that the applicant may enter the simpler facts himself. Leave vacant the space for the statement in regard to experience. This may be written down by the interviewer together with his impression of the applicant's personality.

Assuming that the applicant does not make out the registration form, who in the larger offices shall perform this function—one or more special registration clerks or the interviewers?

Again, with adaptations, the same arguments apply here as in order-taking.[1]

Some offices, particularly in their men's division, have provided special workers to register and renew applicants. It is true, however, that they generally perform these operations over a counter, and that the degree of privacy possible is practically nil. That eliciting and recording the necessary data concerning applicants is a very personal function which can most satisfactorily be performed outside the hearing of other applicants is taken for granted.

In some of the soldiers' and sailors' bureaus each interviewer

[1] For further discussion see pages 260–261.

was assigned an assistant whose duty it was among other things to register all the information about an applicant except that relating to his education and experience. This was recorded by the interviewer.

Contingent upon the registration of applicants by special registration clerks are: the centralization of the files of applicants; the reception of them and the filing of their registration cards by these clerks; and the notification by these latter of applicants to call in reference to vacancies as a result of requests from interviewers.

Interviewing and Referring Applicants. In choosing the personnel of an employment service, probably the first function to be considered and provided for is interviewing. In an office of two persons, both are, or at least should be, chosen from the point of view of their ability to select applicants. Interviewing is not one of the functions which can be performed equally well by all members of the staff. It requires a greater degree of intelligence and a wider and deeper knowledge of human relations than do the other placement process operations. Yet in few if any offices is interviewing a man's sole duty; he usually performs at least three or four other functions. Obviously the freer he is to question and observe applicants and to weigh their replies about their occupational qualifications and desires, the greater his chance of judging them accurately both *per se* and in relation to specific vacancies. Particularly if the range of occupations which an interviewer covers is limited, the very repetition this involves, if practice counts for anything, makes for expertness of judgment.

Interviewing usually culminates with the decision of the interviewer to refer or not to refer an applicant to an employer. This decision is an integral part of the interview. A decision to refer the applicant, however, entails certain other operations not necessarily performed by the interviewer. These consist of making out an introduction form to the employer, presenting it to the applicant, and either clipping together the order form on which that employer's requisition has been noted and the registration card of the applicant referred for future record of the proper entries, or actually recording such entries immediately after referring the applicant.

In the great majority of offices the interviewer usually performs these operations. Otherwise any clerk who is not occupied in discharging other duties may perform all of them, or he may write only the introduction card.

In the soldiers' and sailors' bureaus the assistant to the interviewer was responsible for these routine duties.

Giving Each Interviewer an Assistant. Because the interviewer is a highly trained and relatively highly paid official, an effort has been made to relieve him of much routine clerical work. The expedient of assigning an assistant to each interviewer, a clerk who sits at an adjoining desk and gives his entire time to his chief has been tried. While one applicant is being interviewed the next one comes to the desk of the clerk who makes out his registration card. The clerk notes down all the identifying and routine information so that when the interviewer is free he may glance at the card, secure the applicant's statement about his experience, and write it down in the proper space left vacant by the clerk. As soon as he has done this and has decided to send the man to a certain employer, he gives both order and registration cards to the clerk, who then makes out the introduction card which he hands to the applicant with any incidental information. In cases of renewal[1] the assistant draws the registration card from the file. Moreover, he answers the telephone for the interviewer, takes orders for him, and verifies placements, but is situated close enough to let him interrupt and talk to the employer in cases where that is desirable. Thus, the interviewer is able to spend practically all his time in getting statements of experience and in making decisions as to referrals, while the clerical work is performed by a less highly paid worker. Incidentally this clerk's position is an ideal one in which to learn to become an interviewer. Against the plan the charge is made that it is expensive and that the clerk's presence destroys the privacy of the interview. The suggestion that desks might be so arranged that one clerk could serve two interviewers has been made. The idea has not been finally tested, but is presented for consideration.

Recruiting Applicants. A few of the public employment bureaus, even before our entrance into the World War, gave some attention

[1] See pages 484–487.

to the recruiting of applicants for war industries. The great majority, however, did not. Some of these latter operated on the assumption that available applicants would register if they desired the service of the office, and that if they did not the office was under no obligation to make any special effort to induce them to register.

Where recruiting was practiced, it was largely done through classified advertising or incidentally through personal solicitation by staff workers, but lack of funds did not permit advertising to any great extent. Nor were special workers to recruit applicants employed by any of the public offices until pressure on wartime production in the war industries made it necessary.

In New York City the United States Employment Service established a special Recruiting Division of some 300 labor scouts. These were to secure applicants, not orders. To get the latter was the duty of the Flying Squadron already mentioned.[1] Each scout was assigned a territory and operated in connection with a local office. To each "recruit" the scout issued a card with instructions to report at the nearest office to be registered. Records were kept by the Division of the number of applicants actually recruited by each scout and daily conferences were held outlining the day's program. The achievements of the scouts were by no means commensurate with their cost, and the staff would doubtless have been discontinued had not the need for their service terminated with the signing of the armistice.

Only under very abnormal conditions would it be necessary to provide special workers to recruit men.

Clearing Unfilled Orders and Unplaced Applicants. Clearance consists of:

1. The assembling by the interviewer of unfilled orders and unplaced applicants for transmissal through the proper channel to other sections of the same office or to other offices not under the same roof.
2. The correct recording and transfer of the above.
3. The receipt of orders or applications from a clearance service within a local area or of clearance Bulletins from the State Clearing House and the distribution on the proper form of the items received for clearance to the proper interviewers.
4. The effort by interviewers to fill the vacancies or to place the appli-

[1] See page 263.

cants received for clearance orders on file or applications on file, or vice versa.

5. Communication by telephone; telegram or letter with the proper clearing house, with other sections of the same Local Service or with other extra-local offices to effect clearances.

6. The cancellation of items.

7. The keeping of clearance records.

All the above operations, which involve any judgment concerning applicants or vacancies, must be performed by the interviewer who must also be responsible for some of the record keeping. The remaining operations may be delegated to those workers whose time best permits the performance of them.

Verifying. The recording of the result of the referral of applicants from the returned verification cards,[1] and in the absence of these the ascertaining by telephone or letter of the result of an applicant's visit to an employer are fairly simple operations which in small offices are performed by interviewers themselves. In larger offices they are usually delegated to one or more of the workers who perform other functions. In no office to our knowledge is a worker employed continuously to verify referrals. The amount of time this task entails and the desirability of doing it during the hours of the day when the telephone is least busy, make impractical the total delegation of it to some one member of the staff. In the larger offices the order clerk would seem to be the most logical member of the staff to verify referrals, though others might do so with equal efficiency.

Determining the Activity of Orders and Applicants and Notifying Applicants to Call in Respect to Certain Vacancies. The above functions are such as not to require any very high order of ability; they can be performed by any of the clerical workers of the office trained to do so. In no offices are workers employed expressly to discharge these duties. In offices where there are assistants to the interviewers, they usually follow up unfilled orders and also notify applicants to call with respect to certain vacancies.

Filing. The filing directly related to the placement process is concerned with the active and inactive order and registration

[1] See footnote 3, page 258, for definition.

forms, with index, verification and employers' ledger cards, or any other forms utilized in the process.

Since it is desirable for an interviewer to take cognizance at the time of every new order received he, rather than the order clerk, usually files it immediately. The filing of inactive order and registration forms, however, together with others that must be kept, is constant and in large offices is usually delegated to the order and registration clerks. Order-taking and registration give the clerks who perform these functions a familiarity with occupations which is helpful when occupational filing is required. Few public employment offices provide special file clerks. The fact that the staff of an office is much less engaged in the afternoon in the recording of orders and the registration of applicants, has made it possible for those performing these functions to do the filing.

Report Making. The daily reports of the work of a section are usually made out by an interviewer. The fact that these are required at the end of each day; that they can be made up only after the placement process is brought to a close; and that the volume of reporting is considerable and time consuming, militates against its complete specialization. However, in the men's division of the Los Angeles office, for instance, the entire process is delegated to a certain statistical clerk, who every morning between six and eight or thereafter compiles the report of the previous day's business. During specified hours of the remainder of the day, this clerk registers applicants and discharges other duties. A few other offices also have made some such provision for report making.

Administrative Functions[1]

The administrative functions of a centralized local service are many and diverse, but they entail a comparatively small volume of work.

Policy Making. Whatever policies and procedure are permitted the local service to determine or recommend will be decided upon by the superintendent in conference with his staff and the local employment committee.

Initial Organization. The initial organization of the office

[1] See Chapter XXIV, Personnel of the Service, and several which follow it for a more detailed discussion of the administrative functions of an employment office.

and subsequent adjustments not standardized by the state administrative office will devolve upon the local superintendent appointed to that office. He may delegate the detailed organization within the men's or women's or junior division to the head of that division, subject to his approval.

Supervision. Supervision is another of the functions which is largely performed by the local superintendent, though again he delegates to the head of a division authority to supervise it. In a very large office the general assistant to the local superintendent might help to supervise the entire service.

Training of Personnel. Any formal training of the personnel of the local service will be provided by the state administrative office. On the other hand, each office has its own individual needs in organization and method, in which any new member of the staff must be instructed. The superintendent may either instruct new workers himself, or what is more likely, assign them to work in rotation with such other members of the staff as he deems advisable in order that they may learn, through instruction, observation, and actual performance, their various duties.

Publicity. Although publicity, in most of its aspects is a technical function requiring for its adequate performance particular qualifications, it is doubtful whether in any of the local offices, even those in the largest cities, the employment of such a person would be justified. For the most part the task will devolve upon the local superintendent himself. The state administrative office may render some assistance. Moreover, the local employment committee, which might well include a person with experience in this field, will undoubtedly accept some responsibility concerning publicity.

Office Management. Those duties included in "office management" to a considerable degree lend themselves to functional organization.

In offices manned by two or three persons only, there is usually but one telephone instrument, answered and used by all three. In one with five or more there is usually a switchboard, and the telephone operating is delegated to some one person who performs, if other duties, only incidental ones. Telephone operating is one of the most continuous functions in an employment office. The

necessity for its performance by a special worker is accepted by all larger offices.

Likewise stenography and typewriting are in large offices performed by one or more trained workers. In a small office provision for stenographic service is rare. If any of the personnel happens to know stenography, so much the better. Only no worker should be selected primarily because of this knowledge, but rather for his ability in placement service.

The receipt, stamping, and distribution of incoming mail, and the collection, stamping, and posting of outgoing, as well as accounting and stock-keeping, require comparatively so little time that these tasks can be delegated to workers who also perform other duties.

Practically every office has the part or full time of a janitor provided either by the landlord or by the local office itself.

CHAPTER XVI

SUGGESTED ALIGNMENT OF DUTIES IN A LARGE GENERAL OFFICE

THE division of labor in a small general office is to a considerable degree predetermined by the limited size of its staff. In the larger office the more numerous personnel admits of closer division. The following alignment for a general office in one of our larger cities based, with some variation, on that in operation in Milwaukee at the time of our investigation, is offered as suggestive. It would have to be adapted to meet the specific needs of any particular city. Such an office it is assumed will be organized into a men's division, a women's, and one for junior workers. The personnel of these divisions numbering 18 will consist of a superintendent, a stenographer, a telephone operator, a janitor, nine members in the men's division, three in the women's, and two in the junior workers'.

The Superintendent

In very general terms the responsibility of the local superintendent has already been defined.[1] One of his first duties is to organize the office. This involves:

1. Provision for the efficient performance of the various functions by members of the staff
2. Selection and training of an understudy for each position
3. A definition in writing of the duties of each member of the staff and the preparation for each of a daily schedule for the performance of those duties
4. Organization of a program, an advance calendar, for the performance of whatever functions admit of such.[2]

It cannot be expected that any form of organization, any program, schedule, or calendar which may be instituted will remain

[1] Pages 271–272.

[2] The soliciting of employers' orders and, to some extent publicity, admits of organization over a considerable period.

completely constant. An efficient executive is ever alert to make adjustments that will perfect the running of the office.

Only by the continuous training and supervision of his staff can the superintendent either develop the service to its utmost or even maintain it at an average degree of efficiency. To the heads of the three divisions, men's, women's, and junior, he will delegate certain responsibility for the training and supervision of their personnel. But he himself must exercise supervision over the service as a whole in order to develop that esprit de corps so essential to the success of any organization.

Although he may depend to a considerable degree on the local employment committee to perform some of the publicity functions, unquestionably the superintendent himself and members of his staff must bear the burden of much of it.

From the point of view of authority, supervision, and publicity, all correspondence should be prepared in the name of the superintendent. That delegated to members of his staff he should inspect and sign. He will also undoubtedly write such periodic reports on the general status of the office as may be required by the state director.

The superintendent will take every opportunity to promote the service by representing it on appropriate occasions. He will become acquainted with employers' and workers' organizations, and with employers and workers individually in the interest of the service. He will take the initiative in centralizing in or through the service all the employment activities organized for the community.

Whenever it is desirable he will assist in receiving or interviewing applicants, taking orders, or in performing any other placement process operation. In all probability he will act as secretary of the local employment committee and perform the duties entailed.

The Men's Division

If the superintendent is a man, he will act as head of the men's division and participate in the performance of such placement functions as he may deem fit. In addition to the superintendent, the staff of the men's division will consist of one order clerk, two registration clerks, and six interviewers, 10 in all.

The Order Clerk

It is the duty of the order clerk to receive on the proper form and to distribute to the proper interviewers all orders for men workers received by telephone or letter. If time permits, the clearance bulletin might also be dissected and distributed to the proper interviewers by the order clerk; if not, by the stenographer. In all probability the superintendent would record the orders of employers who called at the office, or tactfully refer them to the order clerk or to the proper interviewer. All orders procured by interviewers in the field should be recorded on order forms at the time. On their return to the office, these orders, for purposes of supervision, should be given to the superintendent for his immediate notice, and by him either to the stenographer or the order clerk for the latter's information and for distribution. It is extremely important that all orders be sent to the proper interviewer as soon as possible after their receipt.

In addition to (1) *receiving and distributing orders,* the order clerk will also:

2. Verify referrals
3. Prepare the clearance bulletin
4. Determine whether orders are still active
5. File inactive orders and verification forms and keep proper record of such
6. Post orders on ledger cards
7. Keep the daily report of the total number of orders received and of persons wanted, occupationally classified, and of orders filled and of applicants referred and placed.

The Registration Clerks

It is the function of the two registration clerks to receive and register on the proper form all the data concerning new applicants except those relative to their education and experience:

1. Receive and direct all men applicants to the proper interviewer
2. Keep a daily record of registrations
3. File registration forms

4. Notify applicants when requested by interviewers to call at the office in reference to specific vacancies
5. Assist otherwise in the verification of referrals, the follow-up of orders, or in the performance of other clerical work in the office.

The fact that unskilled applicants outnumber all others would seem to make any equitable division of the registration of applicants into unskilled and skilled between the two clerks impossible.

Interviewers

The interviewing will be organized into five occupational divisions:

1. General Labor (common and casual)—two interviewers
2. Hotel, Restaurant, and Personal Service; Building Maintenance; Factory; Transportation
3. Trades (building, metal, and others)
4. Farm
5. Executive, professional, clerical; Sales.

Each interviewer maintains his own active file of employers' orders and files them under their proper index. He will register the data on education and experience concerning the candidate on the registration form, the remainder of which has been filled out by the registration clerk, and any other pertinent information relative to the applicant's qualifications and desires. On the basis of this information, on observation of the applicant and discussion with him, the interviewer judges as intelligently and as fairly as he can of the applicant's occupational fitness, potentiality, and desires, and either does or does not refer him to an employer.

In sending an applicant to an employer the interviewer makes out for him a card of introduction and records the action on both order and registration form. In attempting to place applicants he may telephone to employers, to the clearance office or other offices of the Service concerning prospective or existing vacancies, or those on which referrals have already been made, or he may send the applicants to other interviewers.

Each interviewer enters on the proper order and registration form a record of referrals or the result of these reported directly to him. The verification of all referrals, about the results of which

the interviewer has not been directly informed, he delegates to the order clerk.

The daily report of the activities of his section are made by each interviewer and given to the proper clerk for compilation. Periodic reports on the condition of the labor market in the occupations which he covers may also be written by each interviewer and turned over to the superintendent.

Not less than once a day each interviewer must examine his file of orders for the purpose of selecting those whose activity needs to be determined; those on which, for a given time, no applicants have been referred; and those unfilled orders which are to be cleared. After assembling them into these three groups the interviewer deposits them with the order clerk, who alone, or with the assistance of other clerks, will take the necessary action. The activity of orders is ascertained either by means of a form letter or the telephone, preferably the latter, for speed and certainty of response. Good service demands that employers on whose orders no action whatever has been taken, should, after the lapse of a certain period, be given some explanation. Form letters could easily be devised for this purpose. In order, however, to prevent too frequent sending of such letters to the same employer or duplication of them by different interviewers, the handling of all orders on which no action has been taken should be delegated to some one person, preferably the order clerk.

To the registration clerks the interviewer turns over registration cards for filing and the requests for applicants to call in respect to certain vacancies. Either the telephone or a form letter or card may be used for the latter. To the order clerk are referred all inactive orders for filing.

Each interviewer also during certain days and hours determined by the superintendent solicits orders from employers.

The Women's Division

The work of the women's division is organized into three departments:

I. Hotel, Restaurant; Institutional, Domestic, and Day's Work
II. Factory and Mercantile Work
III. Professional and Clerical Work

Photo by Hess Photographing Co., Pittsburgh, Courtesy of U. S. Employment Service

WOMEN'S DIVISION OF THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC BUREAU

Desks of interviewers in the Women's Division of the United States Employment Service in Pittsburgh were arranged so as to provide for a considerable degree of privacy in talking with applicants.

Inasmuch as but three persons constitute the staff of the women's division, each is assigned a department. One of the three acts as head of the division and is responsible to the superintendent for its organization and supervision. She will undoubtedly serve as secretary of the sub-committee on women of the local employment committee.

With a staff of three persons the opportunity for any functional organization is practically nil. Each member performs all the various operations in the employment process in relation to her own department. She takes orders, registers and refers applicants, records action, verifies referrals, follows up orders to determine their activity, sends for applicants to call in reference to certain vacancies, files all employment forms, selects unfilled orders for clearance, and makes out the daily report for her section. In addition, each solicits orders and performs such other functions as may be assigned to her.

Such duties as the distribution of orders received in the clearance bulletin, compilation of the orders of the men's, women's, and junior division to be cleared, compilation of the daily reports of these divisions, handling of correspondence, preparation of news copy, other efforts to obtain publicity, and similar duties, the head of the division may perform herself or delegate to either or both of the two other members of the staff.

The likelihood of the presence of a large number of applicants for day's work, and the desirability of expediting them to employers early in the morning, will make it necessary for two members of the staff of the women's division to spend the first hour or more assigning these day workers. As is the case in Cleveland, the introduction cards may be addressed to the employer the preceding afternoon and attached to the order so that only the name of the applicant referred need be recorded on it and the necessary entries made on the order. Later the name of the applicant may be transferred to the registration card.

The Junior Workers' Division

The personnel of the junior division numbers two: one of whom interviews boy applicants, and the other, girl applicants. Also one of the staff acts as head of the division and is responsible

to the superintendent for its organization and supervision. In all probability she will serve as secretary of the sub-committee on juniors of the local employment committee.

All employment functions and such administrative ones as are delegated to this division must necessarily be performed by the two members of the staff. As in the women's division, its size admits of practically no functional division of labor.

The Stenographer

To the stenographer is delegated most of those functions which in larger organizations are co-ordinated into a division termed "Office Management." Specifically she is responsible for:

1. Receiving, stamping, and distributing all incoming mail and the posting of all outgoing mail
2. Taking dictation, typing and filing correspondence, minutes of staff meetings, reports and similar material
3. Accounting in relation to the payroll, transportation, petty cash, and other similar matters
4. Custody and record keeping of supplies
5. Compiling the daily reports of all sections of the men's division, and of totals of the men's, women's and junior division, and graphically presenting them by means of charts.

The Telephone Operator

As her designation indicates, it is the duty of the telephone operator to receive all incoming and outgoing telephone calls and to make the proper connections. Since telephone operating is such an important function in an employment service, it must be performed as expertly as possible. Nor can the methods of central telephone exchanges be accepted without proper adaptation. It is imperative that specialized phraseology and such other methods of telephone operating as will best suit the purposes of an employment office be instituted. These entail a study of the function for each office and written specifications for its performance.

While it may be possible for the telephone operator during the less busy hours to perform other duties, namely, clerical work and filing in connection with the operating, these tasks are only advisable if they in no way diminish the efficiency of her operating.

CHAPTER XVII

EMPLOYERS' ORDERS

TO DESCRIBE the work of an employment office is to describe a process—one made up of a number of parts, as already indicated. Although all the operations need to be kept in mind, and the way in which the different parts fit together, the process itself can be discussed best for our present purposes by analyzing each part separately. The present chapter confines itself to the methods of handling employers' orders for workers, including the necessary devices of card forms, files, and the like.

Why Detailed Information from Employer Is Needed

The chief business of an employment office is to select for referral to employers those candidates who fulfil two conditions: (1) Those likely to satisfy the requirements of the employer; and (2) those likely to be satisfied with the conditions of employment they will find. In this operation much the same kind of judgment is required of the interviewer as the employer himself uses in hiring workers.

An employer's decision is arrived at by estimating the extent to which an applicant's qualifications and personality meet his needs. If an office is to act as the employer's agent, in making preliminary selections it must base its judgment on the same data that guide him, and consequently it must first obtain these.

The above point seems self-evident, but its importance has not always been fully appreciated. So many of our offices have had as their chief concern the unemployed worker that the position he was to be sent to received relatively little attention. While infinite pains have been taken to evaluate and record an applicant's abilities and limitations, the very concentration upon these things has caused a more or less perfunctory handling of complementary details in regard to the industry and the job. In some other bureaus limited vision or the indifference of political job holders have contributed to the same result.

As we have said, an employment office may be regarded as an agent of the employer which makes preliminary judgments for him.[1] That those judgments may be intelligent, and that they may later be sustained in large measure by the employer himself, the agent must as far as possible have the same basis of fact for its decisions that its principal has. If we may assume this as essential to good selections, the first problem resolves itself into one of bringing to the employment office, and of recording along with the request for a worker, such data as to requirements, conditions of work, and so forth, as are pertinent to that vacancy.

Information about an employer, as well as about his establishment and his requirements, is secured in various ways. Specific data are given when the order is transmitted, and if the office has had continued business with the employer an accumulation of facts has already come out in their different transactions. As already indicated, many well-administered offices make a point of visiting employers' establishments and becoming acquainted with their needs and conditions of employment. Again, a movement toward the creation of standard "job specifications" or "occupational descriptions" for the regular skilled occupations makes an understanding of the technical requirements of vacancies in such occupations easier and lessens the need to explain each order. The different avenues through which the information in regard to the employer comes are discussed more fully elsewhere.[2]

The methods of handling, and more precisely the character, of the employer's order will be taken up under three headings: (I) Data which are required by an employment office with respect to a vacancy. (II) The use of adequate forms as a means of recording these data. (III) The process of receiving and handling orders.

I. DATA WITH RESPECT TO A VACANCY

There is almost no limit to the questions which an applicant has a right to ask about the position he is to spend time and money seeking. Moreover, the necessity for an office or interviewer to

[1] This does not imply that the office is any less an agent of the applicant for work; in reality it is giving a joint service.

[2] See pages 257, 259–264, and 504–508.

know what a man's reaction is likely to be when he reaches an employer, makes it desirable, if for no other reason, to answer these questions. And the information the applicant asks for is in addition to any the employer has given on requirements of the job. This means that the office must foresee a discussion on these extra points and must arm itself in advance with the information about them.

In order to do this satisfactorily, not for one but for scores or hundreds of separate jobs or orders, a technique which will determine what the most important information in respect to them is, and which will assist the memory in securing it, must be worked out. The need for this technique has arisen in every employment office, and with differences in detail and in effectiveness the same general scheme has been adopted.

The first step in such a technique is determination of the general types of information required for all orders, and of special details for particular occupations, industries, and so forth. The questions which will elicit this information are concisely expressed and printed upon blank forms, either sheets or cards, so that their answers may be written in spaces provided.

We have endeavored to classify this information into four simple types: The first serves to identify the employer, giving his name, address, kind of business, and so on. The second has to do with the vacancy, describing precisely the work to be done; the third with such facts as industrial relations, which, although incidental to the position itself, exercise a controlling influence on the applicant's decision; the fourth with the personal qualifications, including training and experience, which the acceptable candidate must possess.

To arrive at this classification and the specific items under each type, upwards of 150 separate and distinct forms which have been used by public, philanthropic, and private employment offices for recording employers' orders were examined. In addition, data from other sources, such as occupational descriptions and actual orders for workers from employers, have been utilized.[1]

[1] The final result was arrived at by first drawing off into one list all the items appearing upon the documents examined, eliminating those items which differed only in phraseology and then, by a closer analysis of the significance of each, grouping them by putting like or related items together.

The classification aims to indicate all the ordinary types of information which an employment office need be expected to possess and is inclusive of all occupations and kinds of employment. Accordingly, certain items will be found to apply only to specific occupations, as farming or domestic service; and others only to specific classes of positions, as data about cost of transportation which will have to do only with out-of-town orders.

But it cannot be assumed that any part of the following tabulation is inapplicable to a given field without careful consideration of the field and of each item. The four main heads under which all the items have been grouped call for information essential to every employer's order, and in general the main subheadings in each of these four major divisions call for data which are also essential. As the subdivision proceeds the items become more specific and many therefore mutually exclusive. The subdivisions could be carried much further; but since each further refinement means that an item becomes more and more applicable to a particular kind of order only, it is thought that enough items have been worked out to offer suggestions for most types of needs.

From this explanation it will be seen that no order clerk in a local office could be expected to carry in his head such an array of points as are outlined below. The methods and devices by which the equivalent of that feat is accomplished will be taken up later.

Immediately following and in conjunction with the classification of information to be obtained about employers' orders, information on three other items has been added. These are: Employer's Directions to Office, Office Memos, and Action Taken—all closely related in practice to the four major items. Item V covers the employer's supplementary instructions to the office, such as the number of workers of the specified qualifications wanted; VI includes the memoranda an office keeps for its own convenience in handling an order, such as date of receipt and initials of clerk responsible for recording the order; VII covers office action on an order, such as the names of applicants referred, the date, and whether or not they were hired. The items of information required under these three heads together with the first four, are presented in outline form on the next page.

Bold or black faced type is used to indicate items always or almost always required; light faced type for items less often required or of lesser importance.

DATA WHICH AN EMPLOYMENT OFFICE MAY NEED WITH RESPECT TO AN EMPLOYER'S ORDER, TOGETHER WITH THE OFFICE MEMORANDA AND THE RECORD OF ACTION TAKEN WHICH APPEAR ON THE ORDER FORM

I. **IDENTIFICATION OF EMPLOYER**[1]

1. **Name of employer**
2. **Address of employer**
   a. Street and number or post office address
   b. Telephone number
   c. Location of work-place and directions to it by most convenient route; nearest railway station
3. **Business of employer** (goods produced, work done, kind of industry, kind of trade or transportation)
4. **Person or office to whom applicant should apply** (often employment manager or foreman)

II. **THE VACANCY**

1. **Work to be done**
   a. Precise and sufficient description of the occupation or process. (Forms for specialized use include a list of possible demands of that specialty which can be checked; as cooking, washing, cleaning, chamberwork, care of children, etc., on a domestic department card)
   b. Further description; (1) heavy, light, medium; (2) indoors or outdoors; (3) standing, sitting, walking, stooping, reaching, lifting; (4) floor, bench, machine; (5) quick, slow; (6) rough, delicate; (7) dirty, greasy, wet, clean; (8) continuously repeated operations
   c. Light, heat, ventilation, and sanitation of work-place
   d. Liability to accidents or poisoning
   e. Facts directly affecting or determining the amount and the performance of work (as, in domestic work, the number in family, number of children, number in service, whether house or apartment)

[1] As already pointed out, black faced type is used to indicate items always or almost always required; light faced type for items less often required or of lesser importance.

2. **Compensation**
   a. Rate per hour, per day, per week, per month, per year (sometimes "probable wages," or range of wages, depending on skill)
   b. Piece work rate or commissions; average earnings (minimum and maximum)
   c. Meals included? Room? House for family?
   d. Other special advantages, as tips, uniforms, garden, milk, meat, vegetables, railroad pass, use of horse or automobile, special training, length of vacation on employer's time, and so on
   e. Bonus? Conditions?
   f. Overtime and Sunday wage rates
   g. What rate to beginners; how advanced?
   h. When or how often paid?
3. **Hours of work**
   a. Number per day, per week
   b. Shifts, exact hours, rotating
   c. Night work
   d. Hours on Saturday
   e. Sunday work
   f. Overtime
   g. Lunch time
4. **Probable duration of work, and when it begins**

III. **FACTS INCIDENTAL TO VACANCY**

1. **Industrial relations:**
   a. Open or closed shop
   b. Strike, lockout or other trouble existing or threatened
2. **Opportunities for advancement** (measured either in wages or training received)
3.[1] **Reputation or references of employer**
4. **Cost of board and lodging** or of house rent in locality of workplace? Commissary store? Company store?
5. **Transportation arrangements** Does employer pay fare? Under what conditions? "Ship when?"
6. **Board advanced** till first pay day?
7. **Living conditions** barracks, bunkhouse or other accommodations, blankets furnished?

[1] Points 3 through 12 are particularly necessary in cases of long-distance clearance, though not infrequently in local placement as well.

8. **Nationalities** predominating among present employes in community?
9. **What industries prevail in locality?**
10. **Educational facilities for children?**
11. **Churches accessible?**
12. **Other information of interest to applicants** from a distance

IV. QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED OF APPLICANT

1. **Education?** (Kind and minimum)
2. **Experience and special training** (Amount of skill or ability required; just what leeway in this requirement? Special training without experience? Can beginners or apprentices be used? Satisfactory if trained in a similar line?)
3. **Disqualifying experience** ("we wish to break men in to our ways of doing things;" certain railroads will not employ men who got their experience on another road)
4. [1] **Conditions re trade union membership**
5. **Age limits**
6. **Sex**
7. [1] **Nationality** (acceptable, required, prohibited)
8. [1] **Race or color** (acceptable, required, prohibited)
9. [1] **Religion** (acceptable, required, prohibited)
10. **Citizenship required?**
11. **Marital condition;** size of family
12. **Physical qualifications;** general, or specific; height, weight, hearing, sight, pleasant voice. Examination required?
13. **Appearance;** dress
14. **Personality;** address, magnetism
15. **Have own tools?**
16. **Speak or read foreign languages?**
17. **References?** Written? Oral? To be investigated by employer? By employment office?

V. EMPLOYER'S DIRECTIONS TO OFFICE

1. **Number of workers wanted**
2. **Time allowed in which to fill order**
3. **Wire, telephone, or write before sending workers**

VI. OFFICE MEMOS

1. **Date of receipt;** hour
2. **Employer's card number**

[1] See discussion on pages 305–308, with respect to these items.

3. **Clerk taking order** (initials only)
4. **"Order still open on**.....(date)"
5. **Method of receipt** (telephone, wire, mail, or in person)
6. **Occupational classification** of order (according to a key list of occupations; a technical classification for filing and statistical purposes)
7. **Order clerk's estimate** of the grade of worker wanted (now used on Canadian forms only)
8. **"Referred to section**....." (within a large office)
9. **"Referred to clearing house**....."
10. **"Call clearing house** before using"
11. **"Investigated:** Report....."

VII. **ACTION TAKEN**

(Usually on back of employer's order form, and so arranged that the following points appear as headings of columns)

1. **Serial numbers of applicants referred**
2. **Name of each applicant referred**
3. **Address of each applicant referred** (used very little)
4. **Nationality of each applicant referred**
5. **Date and hour on which each applicant is referred**
6. **Initials of examiner referring** (used very little)
7. **Result of referral** (usually indicated in code)[1] In Great Britain this phrase is used—"Evidence of Placings and Remarks."
8. **Date on which result is determined or recorded**

II. ADEQUATE ORDER FORMS

It is very evident that if the details of each of a number of orders are to be recorded adequately a systematic method must be used. Some of the public offices first established simply scribbled the employer's name, address, and a few words describing his wants on a slip of paper which was destroyed as soon as its immediate usefulness was past. But this practice has been generally abandoned, and regular printed forms are used for recording the order when it is received. Some of our early statutes creating employment bureaus specified that such records should be kept in books or ledgers, but card index systems were soon substituted. A few workers still believe that a ledger is superior to a card filing system for this pur-

[1] See page 389 for codes used.

pose, but the latter has been universally adopted. The national employment systems of the United States (while in existence), Canada, and Great Britain all use cards exclusively.

We have seen that when an order is taken from an employer that a great many details in regard to it must be obtained. The same kinds of details are not pertinent to every order, but they must be in mind and the pertinent ones ascertained. To assist the memory in this task the blank card or sheet upon which the order is to be written is prepared much like a questionnaire. The types of information required are indicated and space provided for data after each. In the barest terms *the purpose of the employer's order form is:* (1) *to suggest and concisely to record the various kinds of information which are necessary to intelligent action by the interviewer; and* (2) *to record all action taken by the office in regard to that order.* To the accomplishment of this purpose the drafting of the form and the items which appear upon it must contribute.

Two kinds of order forms are used by an employment office. One is designed for distribution among employers, so that they may have a convenient means of notifying the office of their labor needs. In this case the data required by the office must be indicated by fully stated questions. To make these questions clear to the employer and to provide for full answers considerable space is required. Letter-head size paper (8½ by 11 inches) is usually used for this form.

The other type of order form is filled out by the employment office official either in a personal or telephone conversation with the employer. Because its use is limited to those entirely familiar with it, a brief indication upon it of the types of data required is sufficient. One word or an abbreviation is the equivalent of a whole sentence on the form which is used by employers. The amount of space required is still further reduced by the fact that when officials write answers to the same questions over and over again for their own use they are likely to express those answers very concisely. Moreover, the form can be so drafted as to render this easy, a check mark being sufficient to indicate one of two alternatives to a question, and so on. For these two reasons much less space is required for this second type of form than for the first. Consequently a card can be used. The great advantage of a card over a sheet of paper as the basis of a form lies in the fact that it can be

filed and handled much more conveniently. In fact, orders which come to the office written out on the first type of form are usually transcribed immediately upon a card so that all orders may be uniformly filed together.

The Card Form for Employer's Orders

Because the card form is by far the more important, the considerations which enter into its drafting will be taken up first.

In shape and size a general agreement has resulted in favor of a 6 by 4 inch card[1]—one adopted by our war emergency employment service and by the Employment Service of Canada. Other sizes have been used, notably cards 5 by 3 inches and 8 by 5 inches. The two criteria by which the question of size is determined are (1) the adequacy of the surface to contain the data required, and (2) the ease with which the card may be handled and filed. No arbitrary ruling need be made to use a 6 by 4 inch card, but the employment of any smaller one should be discouraged as not adequate to record the data about a position.

The card is usually printed on both sides, its face bearing the questions in regard to information about the order, the reverse providing space for the names of persons referred, the dates, and the result in each case.

The purpose of the face of the card is to suggest to the clerk who is talking with an employer the types of information he must secure with each order. It should be noted that the form is *to suggest* types of information only; it would be quite impossible for it to list them in detail. This means that such a selection of items must be made from the classification given on pages 285–288 as will best assist the clerk already thoroughly familiar with the whole classification and the significance of each heading, to ask such questions as are pertinent to a specific order.

General and Special Order Forms

In making a selection of the items to be printed on the order form the first thing that one encounters is the fact that different kinds

[1] Throughout this study where the dimensions of cards are given, the top of the card in relation to the printing upon it will be represented by the first figure of the dimensions. A card 5 by 3 inches would be filed on its side; one 3 by 5 inches would be filed on its end.

of orders require different kinds of data. An office that supplies teachers only must ask for information on teaching conditions; for one that supplies domestic servants, on housework. So for farm hands or machinists. In a city where most of the applicants are sent to positions out of town, matters of transportation and living conditions at the work-place assume great importance. When it is necessary to draft a form that may be used to record orders for all occupations, the information asked for and the terms used to elicit it must be very general so as to be equally applicable to any industry. For instance, the form in general use will say: State exact nature of work to be done. The form for a farm department can be more specific: Must applicant (1) milk? (2) plow? (3) handle horses? (4) feed stock? and the like.

To be of the greatest service, then, in suggesting the definite questions whose answers are required, *the order card must be drafted with particular reference to the occupations or types of vacancies which are to be recorded upon it.* This does not mean that these cards for special purposes can everywhere replace the general form. But it does mean that the one drafting the card must definitely plan it with reference to a certain field, whether that field be limited or general.

Specialized forms may easily be carried to an absurdity, and the number of forms with which the clerks of a local agency have to contend can be so multiplied as to tie up the whole machinery in red tape. A balance must be kept. Only the major divisions in an office will be provided with special forms. Farm work, domestic work, teaching, and the skilled crafts are notable examples of these divisions. The special forms should be used in connection with the general forms. The latter would still be employed for the great mass of unstandardized occupations none of which is handled in great enough numbers in the ordinary office to justify a specialized form.

Nevertheless, in a sense every form is "special"; it has its particular aim and its particular policies to serve. The main headings in the classification already given are general to all orders, but each section of the country or each occupation will have an influence on the kind of information asked for in the subheadings or the em-

phasis given to this required information. No specific rules can be laid down for selection of the kind of inquiries made, save that pertinence to the problems in hand shall control each point covered. One occupation may be of such a nature that "hours of work" need never be considered; in another field the length of the work day or week may be a most important factor. Matters of policy as well as practical considerations may be involved in the decision whether "conditions re trade union membership," "race or color," or "religion" are properly to be included. The classification is simply given for what it is; namely, a compilation of the points that it has been found necessary to cover in different places and under different conditions, and which local offices will wish to consider in making up their forms.

Extent of Detail in the Order Form

Having made a list of all pertinent points, and having phrased them in terms which apply as specifically as possible to the field in question, the next step is the determination of how many of these points may advantageously be reproduced upon the card. In any occupation the number of specific questions that could be asked about the position in question and the exact qualifications which an applicant must possess could be multiplied indefinitely. As a matter of practical psychology, a busy employer can be troubled with only a limited number of these. Of course, the exact number will vary with the tact and personality of the questioner.

There is room for some difference of opinion as to the extent of detail to be employed in quizzing managers as to their needs. Among the large number of forms examined both extremes were illustrated. Some required merely the name and address of the employer together with "kind of worker wanted" and wages. Others went into detailed consideration of moral and physical conditions in the work-place. Without doubt the more information about the position which an office has at its command, the more discriminating may be the selection as between applicants for that position. But to carry the inquiry to too great length is to raise a doubt as to the function the office is expected to perform. How fine a selection of applicants, then, should an office attempt to make?

Decision on this point must rest with the administrators of the office. But as a practical matter there is a limit beyond which interrogation will annoy employers. It has been found that from 10 to 20 points listed on a card, if well selected and phrased, will suggest to the clerk taking the order the specific inquiries applicable to almost any position. From the numberless inquiries that might be pertinent in regard to any position these 10 or 20 leads must be selected, and skill in doing this will undoubtedly depend upon experience.

As a digression from our immediate topic, it may be said that the standardization of occupations and the written statements which describe in detail the processes and conditions of work (sometimes called occupational descriptions) now pretty well known to employers, make easier the transmittal to the office of data about a particular occupation. What this standardization does is to make a phrase like "cabinet maker on such and such work" express a definite set of requirements. In fact the descriptive terms or names of occupations used become codes which convey a great deal of supplementary information. The movement in this direction will do more than anything else to make a complete understanding of the technical requirements of vacancies possible for an employment office. Otherwise its staff must include an expert from each field which it serves—an obvious impossibility in a general office.

Order and Arrangement of Items on Cards

Arrangement is mainly a matter of convenience. Experience shows that certain inquiries in taking an order seem logically to lead to others. If these follow one another logically the process is a little smoother. The first line or top of the card should contain those items which determine how a card is to be permanently filed; usually the name of the employer together with the serial number assigned to the order.[1] The employment service of the State of California uses the first line of the card for "help applied for," so that on it would be written the occupations to be filled. The card

[1] The same serial number is sometimes assigned to all orders of the same employer.

can then be filed by occupations.[1] If this line is to contain a standardized occupational term which is always used for the same kind of vacancy, and if there is space elsewhere on the card for a description of the work to be done, we would heartily approve of this scheme. An alternative is a row of numbers printed along the top of the card in such a way that a small metal signal or flag can be placed over any particular number. Each number indicates in code an occupation. The idea was used on the United States Army personnel cards. It allows the cards to be filed alphabetically by employers' names, and still makes it possible to pick out all the orders for carpenters, for example, at a glance.

In the mechanical drafting of the card, individual judgment may dictate a dozen different arrangements, one of which may be as serviceable as another. But there are at least two principles which should be observed. One relates to the amount of space to be allowed for writing after each item; the other to the economical use of every bit of surface on the card.

Obviously, answers to some inquiries require much more space than do others. The usual practice has been to line off a card into little squares and rectangles into which the answers must be crowded. The second form reproduced on page 296 and the one on page 297 illustrate this very well. Since the importance and the length of answers vary, the amount of space allotted to each inquiry must be pretty shrewdly calculated to suggest the amount of information required on the point. Sufficient care has not always been taken to do this.

Except for perhaps a dozen exceptions, one particular outstanding failure in this respect was found on almost all the 150 order cards examined. Of the data called for, none is more important than that bearing on the "kind of work" and the "qualifications required of applicant"; and the order card should fully provide for these data as well as for any necessary accompanying explanations. Logically, and in the classification we have submitted, these items fall into two separate classes, but on most of the cards examined the two are either confused or else arbitrarily combined. The second form on page 296 and that on page 297 are typical of those exhibiting that failure. The form used by the Ohio service leaves

[1] See the last of the three forms which are reproduced on pages 296 and 297.

what is really an inadequate amount of space after the caption "kind of work." Save for space after the words "age limit," "sex," and "color" this is all that is provided for recording any of the points listed under "qualifications required of applicant" in group IV of our classification. Moreover, the space on the Ohio form allotted to "kind of work" must also contain any statement that is obtained under our heading "work to be done."

The form used by the California service, reproduced on page 297, provides even less space for "help applied for"; in fact an equal amount of space is left for the brief reply to "where work is to be performed" as for the explanation as to what kind of worker will be acceptable. The criticism here is not of the amount of space left for "help applied for" as it appears on the top line of the card the purpose of which line is for filing uses, but that there is no other space provided on the card *for an explanation of the technical occupational term which is inserted at the head of the card on the top line for filing purposes only*. The words "carpenter," or "dishwasher," or "ribbon girl," or "lathe hand" do not sufficiently describe the work to be done by these persons. It is necessary to use the brief terms so that the orders in the various occupations of carpentry, lathe operating, and so on, may be easily classified; but between requests from two employers for carpenters or for lathe hands or even for dishwashers there may be all the difference in the world as to the kind of people acceptable; differences that are not and cannot be standardized.

The result of providing on the order card only one line or space for the reply to "work to be done" and "kind of worker wanted," is either to limit the data recorded to one or two words, such as "machine operator," or else to crowd a description of the task in an illegible scribble into the space. We have examined thousands and thousands of order cards in offices from one end of the country to the other, which have been thus inadequately and illegibly filled out, due undoubtedly to the cramped space allowed.

The first form reproduced on page 296 has the merit of giving sufficient space for writing.[1] In fact it has been criticized as "too sprawley." The items of "education," "experience," and so on, in the box at the left have been placed there in order to remind the

[1] Used by the United States Employment Service in New York.

Name	No.
Address	Tel.
Business	Apply to
Applied for	
Exact Nature of Work to be Done	
Education	
Experience	
Race or Nat.	
Age	
Duration	
Rate (H D W M)	Still Open
Hours (D W) Sat. Lunch.	Date Rec'd by

EMPLOYER'S ORDER CARD—ORIGINALLY USED IN CLEARANCE DIVISION, NEW YORK STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

A feature of special interest is the amount of blank space left for writing in the "exact nature of work to be done" and the other specifications. The general forms used in Ohio and California may be compared by referring below and to the opposite page.

Form 1031

APPLICATION FOR HELP

Employer's No.....

Firm or name			Date
Address			Telephone
Kind of work			Number wanted
Probable wages	Hours		Probable duration of work
Age limit	Sex	Color	Filled
Remarks			

EMPLOYER'S GENERAL ORDER CARD—OHIO

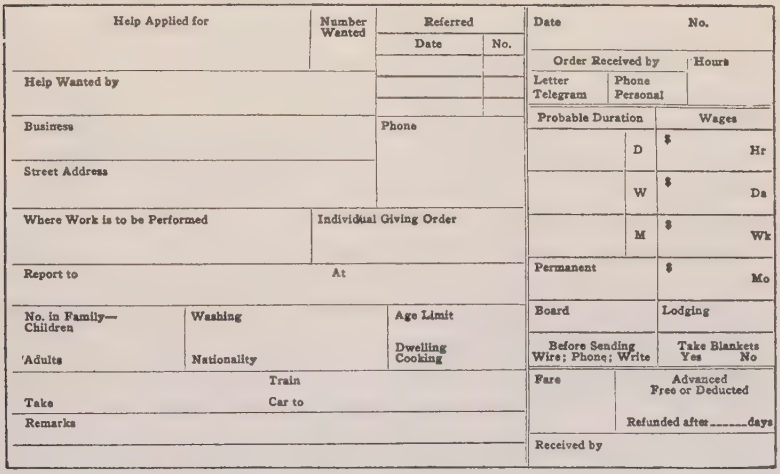
The space between items could be better apportioned since some require more space and some less than is here allotted. The receiving clerk's initials are not required here as they are on the New York, California, and certain other forms. Size (reduced here) is 6 by 3¼ inches.

clerk to ask the employer about such as are pertinent to the order in question.

Emphasis has been put on the necessity of sufficient space for writing adequate "specifications" because of the supreme importance of the latter in filling a position.

Full Utilization of Space on Card Form

The second principle which must be observed in the mechanical part of drafting a card is that of using its *whole* surface. There are 24 square inches on the face of a 6 by 4 inch card. Anyone who uses a form or tries to draft one will find this space limited enough



Employer's General Order Card—California

Provides space for many details but leaves little room for the kind of help wanted and the exact nature of work to be done. The subdividing of the card would seem to be carried farther than is necessary.

without wasting any. It seems superfluous to suggest that the devotion of any considerable amount of it to the name of the employment service or of the administrative division of the state or federal body under which it is conducted, is unnecessary when the card is used only by the office force and becomes confidential as soon as an order is placed upon it. Identification of the form, the branch of the service, date and size of order to printer, may be

placed at the bottom in very small type close to the edge of the card.

Great variance occurs in the amount of space allowed vertically between the horizontal lines upon which answers are written. This space is sometimes great enough for two lines of writing to be cramped in. Sometimes it is so small that it is difficult to write within it at all. About 12 or possibly 13 horizontal lines spaced at equal distances are all that can satisfactorily be got upon a 6 by 4 inch card used horizontally. The economical use, therefore, of these precious lines in recording the "date" or "telephone number" or "age" is most important. Margins are wasteful.

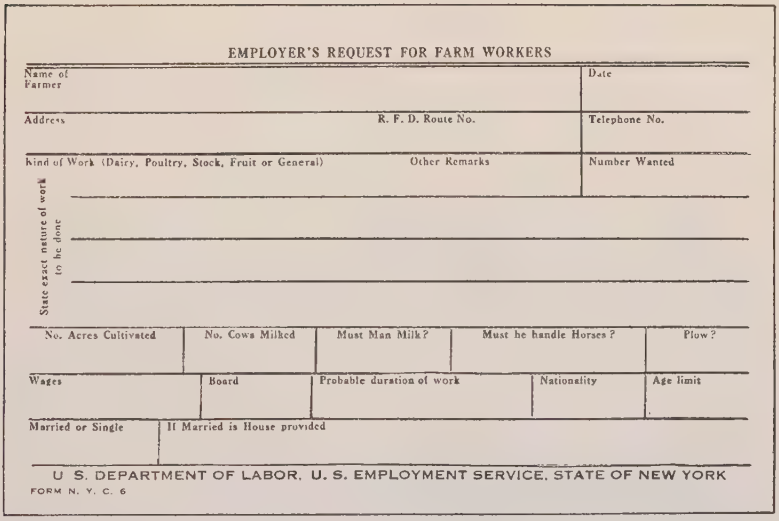
It is understood that each card should be used to enter an order for one type of worker only, though several workers may be required with the same qualifications. For instance, an employer who requested a carpenter and a plumber would be considered to have given two orders and two cards would be used. However, if he asked for two carpenters to do the same kind of work and with identical qualifications, it would be considered as one order for two men and a single card would be used.

The three general order cards reproduced on pages 296 and 297 have each been actually used for thousands of orders in the states of New York, Ohio, and California. They are no better nor worse than many others which were examined; but are selected because they represent different types of forms and have been used extensively. They are not presented and should not be used as "models." Some of the items upon them may be questioned in drafting new forms; each card contains good points that are lacking in the others.

On page 299 an order card designed solely for farm jobs is reproduced. It illustrates by contrast with the general cards the difference between a specialized form and a general form. It is not presented as a model.

The common practice is to use the face of the card for data in regard to the order, and the reverse side for referrals and their result, so that an inspection of the card will show at any time just what action the office has taken. Of the possible items listed in our classification on page 288 under which this action may be recorded, the ones always used are these: (1) Name of applicant referred,

(2) date, and (3) result of referral. In addition the serial number of the applicant's registration card together with the date on which the result of the office's effort on his behalf is ascertained and recorded on the daily report, are often used. The latter prevents confusion when more than one applicant has been referred on an



EMPLOYER'S REQUEST FOR FARM WORKERS

Name of Farmer | Date

Address | R. F. D. Route No. | Telephone No.

Kind of Work (Dairy, Poultry, Stock, Fruit or General) | Other Remarks | Number Wanted

State exact nature of work to be done

No. Acres Cultivated | No. Cows Milked | Must Man Milk? | Must he handle Horses? | Plow?

Wages | Board | Probable duration of work | Nationality | Age limit

Married or Single | If Married is House provided

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, STATE OF NEW YORK

FORM N. Y. C. 6

EMPLOYER'S ORDER CARD FOR FARM LABOR—UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Note the questions peculiar to farm work and the large space left for "exact nature of work to be done." This card contrasted with the New York State Employment Service form, reproduced on page 296, indicates the nature of the differences between the forms for general and those for special use. Size (reduced here) is 6 by 4 inches.

order and the "result" of each referral is ascertained at a different time.

The items are arranged at the head of columns as shown in the following reproductions. The columns may run lengthwise of the card as indicated, or crosswise, according to the number of names which it is desired to make room for. When columns are placed lengthwise about 20 names can be put on the card; when crosswise,

about a dozen. Of course the latter arrangement will leave more space horizontally for writing the name and other data.

Applicant	Date sent	Result

Reverse Side of Employer's General Order Card—Wisconsin

This form calls for the absolute minimum of required data. It is not considered as adequate as the card shown below. Size 4 by 6 inches.

HELP SENT

Applicant's serial number	NAME	Date referred	Result	Date ascertained

Reverse Side of an Employer's General Order Card—Used in a Social Agency in New York

A form well designed for its purpose. It is a slight modification of the form used in the public service. Size 4 by 6 inches.

Order Forms for Distribution Among Employers

Above we have been discussing the order card which is made out in the employment office and used by the staff. Another type of order form is designed to be distributed among employers as a convenience to them in making their wants known. It is relatively little used and for the most part may be dispensed with. It is, however, one way of making the existence of the office known to employers, and it often renews an old contact. It is really necessary when teachers and farmhands are wanted.

Paper of letter size (8½ by 11 inches) has usually been employed for this form. The principles embodied in its drafting are much the same as those outlined above for the order card, with one important exception. It is to be filled out by people possibly not familiar with the methods of an employment office. Every item and every question upon it, therefore, must be fully self-explanatory. It must bring out the points which the office wants to know and yet not appear so formidable as to suggest the criticism of "red tape," easily incurred in these days of questionnaires and income tax blanks.

In these forms the same relation holds between "general" and "special" as in the case of office order cards discussed on page 290. However, since the form is less used and therefore less important, differentiations are less valuable. For the few occupations, like farming and teaching, where the request often comes by mail, a specialized blank is necessary, otherwise a general form will serve.

Because an abstract of the information contained on this form is usually transferred to the office order card it need provide for no record of action.

Most of these general forms have been drafted so that the information about several vacancies can be listed by an employer on the same sheet. This is accomplished by means of columns at the head of which are the items of "Occupation," "Number wanted," "Sex," "Wages," "Remarks," etc. Of necessity the amount of data that will be obtained about each position is meager. The alternative is a form that provides for the description of but one vacancy to a sheet. This is more satisfactory in the information it gives to the office, but an employer requiring several kinds of

workers may not be willing to fill out a number of sheets. Special forms examined, with the exception of a form for shipyard workers, list a single order or kind of vacancy on a sheet, though several workers of identical qualifications may be requested.

On page 303 we suggest a compromise between the general form which allows a single order only, and the one which provides columns for the recording of several. An attempt is made to bring out essential facts and conditions about the vacancy to be filled under one order (which in many cases is all the employer wishes to give at a time), and then to provide for listing other orders to which many of the facts already stated in regard to the first vacancy may apply. It is an endeavor to gain the advantage of both types of forms.

III. RECEIVING, HANDLING, AND FILING OF ORDERS

A card form may be precisely calculated for its purpose, but if the clerk who takes the order does not ask the essential questions and record the significant part of the answers, much of the effort will have been ineffective. An able clerk will take orders more adequately upon a plain slip of paper than an inefficient one upon a good form. This does not in any way invalidate the assistance which a form can render, but emphasizes the necessity of allowing only experienced and thoroughly capable people to take orders.

While some orders are received by mail and others personally from employers at the office, the greatest number come over the telephone. In addition to the handicap imposed by the telephone as a means of communication, the taking of orders is extremely exacting. Not only must the clerk be tactful and conscientious, but he must be able to explain the general policies of the service and their application to the order in question; to give a report as to the condition of the labor market in a specific occupation, both locally and nationally; to meet complaints of all kinds with such explanation of events or office practice as are pertinent; finally to ask specific questions about the details of the occupation in question, often involving technical terms and trade names. And incidentally, any false impressions which the employer has of the office or its functions must be instantly perceived and corrected if the office is later to be of maximum service to him.

EMPLOYER'S REQUEST FOR WORKERS

Kindly send this request to ..... EMPLOYMENT SERVICE at

.....

Name..... Date.....

P. O. Address..... Railway Sta..... Telephone.....

Business..... Applicants to be directed to.....

NOTE TO EMPLOYER

Give facts for most important job here; list others at bottom of this page. Use other side if necessary.

What work are applicants to do? What experience is required?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Requirements as to nationality, color, age, etc.?.....

Physical qualifications? Examination? Height, Weight?.....

Number wanted?..... | Sex?..... | Must they have own tools?..... | How long will job last?.....

Wages?..... per hour, day, or week?..... Overtime?.....

Hours of work?..... per day or week?..... Shifts or night work?..... Overtime?.....

What transportation arrangements? Fare advanced or refunded? Conditions?.....

How is board and lodging to be got? Cost?..... Blankets required?.....

Any strike or lockout involved?..... Board advanced till pay day?.....

Remarks:.....

.....

.....

Other Kinds of Work for which Workers are Wanted	Number		Hours		Wages		Remarks; Preferences, Special Requirements, etc. (Use back of this Sheet if Necessary)
	Men	Women	Per Day	Per Week	Rate	Per Hour or Day	

The reply to this application should be addressed to.....(Signature of person giving order)

EMPLOYER'S ORDER FORM TO BE FILLED OUT AND MAILED BY THE EMPLOYER HIMSELF

This draft is merely to suggest how a single form may be made so as to elicit rather complete data about a job, and also to leave space for a number of vacancies. 8½ by 11.

All of this must often be done under pressure. Each employer is busy and likely to be impatient. Others are "holding the 'phone" waiting for an opportunity to give their order. Speed is as essential as tact and courtesy. A careful phrasing of the questions which are applicable to all orders and the consistent use of that phraseology will help, but a warning should be given. "Standardized phraseology" in this kind of telephone communication is valuable only if there is personality and individuality behind it. Otherwise the questions drawled out as by an automaton and always with the same inflection, will disgust employers who are likely to think the clerk uninterested and perfunctory. The extent to which this use of standard concise statements may be adopted for the purpose of accurate questioning, thus avoiding repetition and paraphrasing, must be determined in each office. A certain kind of efficiency can be attained through it, but the dangers of making the process mechanical must not be overlooked.

The obvious way to speed up the taking of orders over the telephone is to confine conversation to essential points. However, the employer has called up to tell the office what he wants, and he expects to do it in his own way. No rule can be laid down for this situation. The clerk is in a hurry and must depend upon his skill to get all the significant information, to reassure the employer as to his understanding of the situation, and then to terminate the conversation in a minimum of time.

Questions of Social Policy Related to Handling of Orders

A question of social policy involving the relation of an employment office to the public arises in the taking and handling of orders. In connection with it there exists a sharp controversy as to the right, the propriety, and the necessity of a government employment office's dealing at all with the following items in regard to positions and applicants:

1. Race
2. Color
3. Nationality
4. Religion

5. Trade union membership
6. Strike and lockout information.

The controversy in regard to the first four arises from a survival of personal and religious prejudices, and in regard to the latter two from the industrial struggle.

The argument to disregard all these items is based upon a conception of the attitude which a governmental agency should assume in a democracy. The government is by and for all the people. It cannot take sides in racial or religious differences nor cognizance of them. Public service must be given to all without consideration of race, creed, or color. As to trade union membership, strikes and lockouts, the conception of proper governmental attitude is expressed by the word "neutrality."[1] The principle seems clear that the instrument of all the people shall not be concerned with any one class in a controversial matter; it shall so govern its action as not to be open even to the suspicion of partisanship.

Regarding Data on Race and Religion

Applying this conception specifically to questions of race, religion, and trade unionism in an employment office the argument divides into two parts. The first deprecates cognizance of these points on the ground that asking questions with regard to them may be misunderstood and a charge of prejudice or partisanship be preferred; closely allied is a fear of their actual presence. The second holds that by merely asking the question whether the employer has any preference as to race or religion might suggest a prejudice in the mind of employers to whom otherwise it never would have occurred. The extreme view has been held that employers who expressed any preference in these matters should be refused all service by government employment offices.[2]

[1] Note that the question of trade unionism here involves only the asking of employers in general whether they do or do not hire union men and asking applicants whether or not they belong to trade unions when no trade disturbance is in existence. Procedure in the event of an actual strike or lockout is discussed elsewhere.

[2] In the statute creating public employment offices in Idaho the following provision occurs:

" . . . membership in or affiliation with any religious, political, benevolent, charitable, labor, or any other organization shall never be allowed to influence or control the securing of employment of services at any municipal employment agency, and no employment clerk or other person connected with a municipal

Public employment offices generally have not adopted this point of view in action. Practically all do take cognizance of these items in taking orders and in selecting applicants for referral. This course is based on a slightly different conception of the function and limitations of the office; one in which it is simply a meeting place for workers and employers. Orders for work-people and applications for employment are brought together without responsibility on the part of the office for the requirements of either side. Except in cases of actual infringement of the law an employer may demand any qualifications of prospective employes; and applicants have a reciprocal privilege, both without prejudice to their right to service from the bureau. In a sense the office is thought of as a bulletin board upon which the employment needs of the community are written. It is maintained by agreement as a substitute for the haphazard methods which exist when there is no employment office. To censor the kinds of requirements that may be set forth by either side, so long as their fulfilment does not infringe the law, brings in an entirely new element. For an employment office to try to enforce such a censorship would cut down the usefulness of the office without preventing employers or workers desiring to do so from pursuing their preferences or prejudices through the more haphazard employment methods they would then use.

It is argued that an employer's request for Italian or Irish laborers is forced upon him, if he already has these nationalities in his shop, in order that the new hands shall work harmoniously with his other workers. Again, distance from a church may make it impossible for members of a certain denomination to accept a position; the only fair thing is for the employer to make the fact clear in advance. It is held that these are items connected with the order which, so far as the office is concerned, are as necessary and as proper as items referring to wages or hours of work.

The argument that necessity governs an employer's stipulation in regard to race or religion is not to the point, however. Even where personal prejudice alone governs, the employment office

employment agency shall ever ask any applicant for employment or services any questions relating to his membership in or affiliation with any religious, political, benevolent, charitable, labor or other organization, or to his political views on any matters whatever." Chapter 169, Section 3, of the laws of 1915.

did not cause the prejudice and cannot remove it. If the desires of the two sides are not met by the bureau the newspaper want columns will be resorted to. Regrettable as are prejudices that may be undemocratic and antisocial, our government, because of its very democratic form and its solicitude for personal freedom, cannot control the racial or religious predilections of people. Without power to compel an employer to hire against his will, or a worker to take a position against his, it would be folly to forbid an employment office's consideration of such stipulations when they are made. Handicapped by such regulations it would be far outstripped by other agencies which would give the kind of service wanted, and the ends for which the public office was established would never be reached. Prejudice must be removed by education, not by refusing a governmental service to people in an attempt to punish them.

Experience has brought out another point. Not even the most ardent upholder of the rights and liberties of the Negro would desire to have a sensitive young Negro girl sent to apply for a position which merely called for a "stenographer" without some assurance that her application would be welcome. The possible insult to which she might be liable is one to which the office ought not to subject her. In one office a stenographer—the question of color was not involved—was hired while the manager was on vacation. Upon his return two weeks later he walked up to the girl and bluntly said: "We don't keep any——(designating her nationality-group) around here. Beat it." If failure to ask as to "preferences" and the consequent inability to prevent this sort of thing is the alternative of finding out about them, it seems clear that the latter is the necessary course.

While the present practice of determining exactly what the employer wants and complying with it on the one hand, or referring no one at all on the other hand, is concurred in by the writers of this report, the careful balancing of arguments on the subject makes the question appear much more important than it really is. In only a few places in the United States does prejudice run high enough to create serious problems. The occasion and necessity for recognizing a racial or religious qualification should be established before a particular office considers the subject.

It goes without saying that discrimination on the part of officials must be guarded against. Professional ethics have been and must be adamant on the point. But, granted absolute impartiality on the part of office workers we are convinced that merely to ask an employer his preference will not create a prejudice.

On Trade Union Membership

The workers' fear of discrimination against them is the chief argument advanced as to why an office should not ask whether a man belongs to a trade union.[1] In some states and in England it is provided that no applicant shall be asked whether he is a member of a trade union or not, but when positions are offered to him he is told "trade unionists are not wanted on this work," or vice versa. This of course assumes that either by question or by previous knowledge the employer's relation to unionism is known to the office. An attitude of neutrality here does not take on the same aspect as do the questions of race and religion spoken of above. It is simply a problem of so conducting the office that no opportunity for a charge of discrimination can be made. The consensus of opinion seems to us to be that when the information is willingly given there is no reason why the office should not record it.

Strike and Lockout Information

We have already included, in our discussion of the terms of agreement between the federal government and the states in their operation of a nation-wide employment service, a provision in respect to the procedure to be followed by local offices in time of strike.[2] It is in this connection that the question of neutrality is most likely to arise.

This procedure provides that in case of strike or lockout, the local offices of the Service may refer applicants to the employer in question, but that in doing so they shall inform applicants of any statement properly made to them in respect to the existence of a strike or lockout. This is the practice followed by almost all public employment offices in this country as well as

[1] This does not refer to the position of the office in case of an actual strike or lockout.

[2] See page 176.

by the Employment Service of Canada and the British Labour Exchanges.

Methods of procedure have on the whole in this country been more or less informal. Stamping in green or red ink the word "Strike," or an equivalent word or phrase on the card presented by the office to the applicant introducing him to the employer, is the accepted method of informing applicants of the existence of a strike or lockout. The British Labour Exchanges have developed much more formal regulations for each step involved in the matter of trade disputes.

Filing of Order Cards

The filing of order cards falls into three sections: active orders, orders upon which applicants have been referred and the result not ascertained, and inactive orders. When an order comes to the office, either by letter or on the special order sheet filled out by the employer, most offices, as already stated, make an abstract of it on the order card. The original letters or order sheets may be filed just as other correspondence is; alphabetically, geographically; by subject; by occupation; or in any other way so long as they are readily accessible.

Active Orders

Active orders will be defined as unfilled requests in regard to definite vacancies which are available to qualified applicants.[1] The almost universal practice in filing active orders is to arrange them occupationally on the desk of the interviewer who attends to the business of the particular occupation, usually in a box file (fate and meager budgets have often decreed that this should be a cardboard shoe box). When two or more interviewers are trying to fill the same orders, the file box is usually passed back and forth. This is often necessary in a single department that supplies the wants of laborers where subdivision or specialization of occupations is no longer practicable and where the numbers of applicants handled are so large that two or more interviewers are required. A variation from this method of filing, in offices or departments

[1] An order has been briefly defined on a previous page as an employer's request for a worker or for one type of worker; a vacancy as an available position.

where high desks or counters are used, is a rack which stands behind the interviewers and upon which the active orders are spread out in such a way that the faces of the cards are visible. This rack is easily available to three or four interviewers working on the same order. There are several commercial devices for visible filing of cards. As far as we could ascertain they have actually been tried in only three or four public employment offices.

With any of the above schemes, as many occupational subdivisions are made as the number of orders on hand justifies. Under each subdivision or occupation the cards are usually filed either alphabetically by employers' names or numerically. Two separate variations have been employed for women day workers. One is to file them by districts of the city, so that women living in a neighborhood may be sent to positions near their homes. The other is to file them by dates according to the time when the work is to be performed, since orders are often given several days ahead. A combination of the two methods is possible when the number of orders justifies it.

Other methods of filing active orders are negligible. An office handling professional women only held all orders in a central file arranged occupationally. The individual interviewers were not exclusively confined to special occupations, and a file clerk distributed and collected the "orders for secretaries" or the "orders for chemists" as they were needed in the various interview rooms. This worked very well, but would be too expensive and too slow for a general office handling large numbers of applicants. Other arrangements obtain in offices where the number of orders on hand is so small that no filing is necessary and the memory can be depended upon.

An interesting variation of the visible rack filing was used in Seattle, where the order slip had a second slip clipped to the back of it facing the other way which merely announced "Carpenter Wanted—55c per hour," or whatever it was. Interviewing is done through windows in a glass partition arranged much like the paying teller's window in a bank. These double slips are hung inside the glass partition so that the "Carpenter Wanted" side can be seen by applicants through the glass and the details of the order itself face the interviewers behind the counter. This

device leads applicants to ask for the job and furnishes the interviewer with a visible "file" of orders.

When applicants are referred to a position their registration cards are, in almost all offices, attached by a wire clip or rubber band to the order card. These usually remain attached in this way until the result of the referral has been ascertained. When an order calls for several people and less than the total number have been referred, the order remains in the active file, still attached to the registration cards of those applicants already sent. Another practice is for the interviewer to write up the information on the back of each card immediately (employer's name or number on registration card and applicant's name or number on employer's card); and to place both of them, not attached, into the box or file set apart for the day's business. (Of course the employer's order is held in the active file until the whole number of workers required has been referred.) As soon as the clerk making the daily report has finished with these "Referred but not verified" order cards, they are returned to the interviewer's desk and there filed separately awaiting verification of the result, usually in alphabetical arrangement by employers' names.

The writers of this report favor this separate filing rather than the method of attaching order and registration cards together; but either method has worked satisfactorily. The important thing is to keep the cards in such a way that they are accessible to the interviewer at all times. Some offices have had such a complicated system that when a man has been referred to a position his registration card was entirely withdrawn from the files and from use for two or three days while certain clerical procedure was gone through with. This is entirely unnecessary and places record keeping before success at the interview desk as a determinant of method.

Filing of Inactive Orders

Inactive orders are those which require no further attention. They fall into two classes: those that the office has filled and those that it has failed to fill and will no longer try to fill. In a very few instances these two classes have been filed separately, but there seems no good reason for it, and the following discussion assumes that they should be filed together. Again, certain other

offices have made a practice of destroying all orders as soon as they have become inactive, but the consensus of opinion is strongly in favor of preserving them.

The commonest method of filing inactive order cards is in one central file for the whole office, though the practice of separating those of the men's and women's departments is sometimes followed. Cards are arranged in this central file in one of three ways: (1) Alphabetically, by employers' names; (2) occupationally; (3) numerically, according to a key list by which these numbers have been assigned either to each employer or to each order.

The first arrangement is most frequently used. All past orders are filed under the name of the employer who gave them. These orders thus allow one to check up at once the amount and kind of service given to any employer. This is true whether a "ledger card" summarizing these data is kept or not.[1]

The occupational filing of inactive orders, on the other hand, makes available to interviewers information as to wages and hours, names of individual employers, and so on, in each occupation. This is especially valuable in attempting to find possible openings for applicants for whom no vacancies are at hand. To have easily accessible the details of all the calls for plumbers or orderlies, or others, which the office has handled, can be made a great asset to an interviewer who possesses initiative. Some offices have filed their inactive orders in this occupational file without, however, keeping any separate list of employers' names by which an order can be traced if necessary. This method of filing should be paralleled by some cross-index of employers' names by which particular orders can be traced. The ledger card referred to is suggested as this cross-index, and this combination of occupational filing along with a ledger file, will, in our opinion, insure the maximum record keeping possibilities of the inactive cards.

The third possibility is numerical filing. A serial number may be assigned to each employer upon his first application to the office. This number then appears upon all subsequent orders of that employer. Filing by number under this scheme would bring all the orders given by a single employer together just as would alphabetical filing, the only difference being the use of a cross-

[1] The ledger card is described beginning on page 314.

index of names to locate any employer. On the other hand, serial numbers may be assigned successively to each new order as it comes without regard to the employer. Numerical filing under this scheme gives very little else than a file of orders chronologically arranged, the highest number always being the last order taken. A variant from this would be an out and out chronological arrangement.

The only variation from the central file for inactive orders is to file them in each major department or division of an office separately. The scheme might even be carried so far as to have each interviewer hold on his own desk the orders which he had handled, but this is not recommended.

CHAPTER XVIII

EMPLOYERS' LEDGER CARD

IT IS evident that the inactive employers' order cards must contain a vast amount of information about the extent and kind of work that an office is doing. A complete record of all transactions with each employer is there. But each transaction is on a separate card. The total service rendered an individual employer can be determined and analyzed only after all his order cards have been assembled and the data drawn off for that particular purpose. Under the pressure of business in most offices this is done only when some complaint or other unusual occurrence demands it.

A special form has been created and successfully used which by automatic clerical process draws off the essential information of each transaction. It is called the Employers' Ledger Card. It records the following information about every employer who has placed an order with the office:

1. **Identifying facts:** (a) name; (b) address; (c) telephone number; (d) account number or other filing code.
2. **General memos and notes:** (*all* these points need not be covered for each employer): (a) how hiring is done (by employment department or foreman); (b) size of normal force; (c) attitude toward employment office; (d) union or open shop; (e) physical and working conditions; (f) unusual hours; (g) other facts of interest; (h) dates when visited and initials of visitors.
3. **Specific data for each order received:** (a) date received; (b) classification of vacancy (or "occupation"); (c) sex; (d) number of persons wanted; (e) total number of persons referred (entered when the transaction has been completed); (f) total number of persons who have been hired and gone to work (likewise after the transaction has been completed).

The size adopted for this form is 5 by 8 inches, and its face will appear as shown on page 315.

EMPLOYERS' LEDGER CARD

Name.....No.....

Complete address.....

Business.....Tel. No.....

Misc. notes: How is hiring done? Size of normal force? Attitude toward service? Union or open? Physical and working conditions? Unusual hours? Other facts of interest?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Dates visited:
Initials of visitor:

Date Received	Classification of Vacancy	Men or Women	No. Wanted	No. Referred	No. Placed

Heading of Employer's Ledger Card

On this card a complete skeleton record is kept of the service rendered to each employer. It is invaluable as an aid to the superintendent in evaluating the work of his office, in planning publicity, or in canvassing openings for workers. Suggested size (reduced here) is 5 by 8 inches.

On the back of the card is continued the columns on the face headed "date received," "classification of vacancy," and the other items in the third division. The two sides together thus provide (on a 5 by 8 inch card with the lines one-quarter inch apart) for 48 separate orders from the same employer.

A Means of Evaluating Current Work

The value and purpose of this card lies in its use as a means of analyzing and evaluating in detail the work of an office; and analysis made by the superintendent is an integral part of his supervision and direction. The massed statistics of "help wanted," "referred," and "placed" applicants contained in the daily report, even though they are classified by occupation and by sex, give only the pulse of the office; they do not enable the making of a detailed diagnosis.

One of the greatest causes of failure of public employment offices has been their lack of sensitiveness to the shifting details of their work. They have continually solicited employers, have advertised for applicants, and have attempted to serve all who came to the office; but they have lacked the time, the kind of records, and oftentimes the vision which would have enabled them so to direct the energy and aggressiveness of the office force as to build up a permanent clientèle. A preceding chapter of this report has pointed out that the different groups in a community have different capacities for profiting by a public employment service. To determine these groups, to understand their capacities, and to direct the efforts of the office so that it shall intelligently serve them is one of the tasks of supervision. No single record or form yet devised can accomplish this task, but the ledger card brings together for comprehensive review a great deal of information about the entire clientèle of an office.

It is expected that each order will be entered on the ledger card on the day of its receipt, only the last two columns for "referred" and "placed" being left vacant. These two columns will be filled in on the day following that on which the result of referral is ascertained or whenever the order becomes for any reason inactive. At any given moment the ledger file thus contains a brief summary of every past and pending transaction with each employer. It

gives the employer's business and also supplementary information. As a matter of business getting, the applicants' being able to satisfy employers is what brings success. Any analysis of this satisfaction (or the reverse) must be made by digesting the various transactions with that employer, possibly followed up by an interview which will bring out underlying causes of approbation or complaint.

It is proposed that the superintendent set himself the daily or weekly task of completely analyzing a certain number of these ledger cards. He may do it alphabetically by beginning with employers' names in A and proceeding through the whole list, repeating the process once each four or six months; or he may take certain industries and analyze the relative service of the office to different employers within each industry as well as the quality and quantity of its service to one industry as a whole.

A study of the ledger cards of an industry will show the seasons at which calls are heaviest, the exact occupations for which there is a demand in each season, and the ability of the office during different parts of the year to fill the same type of order. It will show that certain employers engage a much higher percentage of men sent to them by the office for all occupations than do others; or that one employer hires a larger percentage in certain occupations than do others. It may show that an employer using nearly twice as many women as men calls for many men and for few women; that certain employers have used the office frequently for a period and then have ceased to do so altogether, even during seasons when their industry was busy. If dates when employers are visited or solicited for orders are recorded and then carefully noted, the effect of this solicitation can often be observed in an increase of orders for a short time after each visit. The inter-relation of all these items is almost infinite, and ability to estimate the significance of this relationship is essential if the office is to succeed in analyzing a business need and shaping a policy and methods to meet it.

An Aid in Office Administration

From the types of data brought to light by such an analysis the success of different departments may be judged and their administration regulated accordingly. The discovery of fluctuations in an employer's orders, for instance, may result in a superin-

tendent's sending some one to "visit" that employer and the consequent disclosure to the superintendent of unexpected facts about the methods of his office. Many suggestions for the good of the service will originate in this way. The superintendent must be the sales manager of the office, or some capable person must take charge of this phase of the work. He should use the same care in analyzing and charting old and new business and the result of new methods, as does the sales manager of any commercial firm.

For the quick checking of facts in regard to complaints the ledger card will give in compact form all the data needed. If the inactive order cards are filed occupationally the ledger card file serves as the alphabetical list of employers, and full details in regard to requests can be obtained by examining the original order cards.

It is suggested that the ledger card file might also contain cards for large employers who have never given an order to the office but who are objects of solicitation. The head of the card would be filled out just as for an employer who had given an order, and the lack of items under "date received," and so on, would indicate that he was a "prospect." This would increase the size of the file, but it would serve as a solicitation as well as a ledger file.

The idea which inspired the employers' ledger card in New York State and later the slightly modified one in Canada, came from the "index cards" of the Massachusetts State Bureau. In the latter state a separate index card was made for each occupation in which an employer asked for workers. All his orders for carpenters were entered on one card; all for laborers on another. So far as we could determine the index card could not readily be and actually was not used for analytical purposes, but acted simply as a check on the accuracy with which records of orders and other items were kept. It suggested to the New York State Bureau, however, the possibilities of a comprehensive summarizing of all transactions with employers. Incidentally the ledger card serves to the full the ends for which the index cards were created.

It should be added that the New York form provided space only for name, address, business, locality, and telephone number in addition to the columns for entering orders. It did not contain

the section for "misc. notes," and the space for writing them and the "dates visited" included in our suggested form.

The Employment Service of Canada in its card (E. O. 11) adopted the face of the New York form almost identically, but uses the entire back of the card for the kind of information suggested under "misc. notes" on the card we suggest, providing for: (1) "name of person hiring help" with "position and title"; (2) number (separately) of men and women employed under the terms "skilled, office, unskilled, learners"; (3) "working hours, daily Saturday, per week; overtime rate"; (4) "open or union" shop (5) "attitude toward employment service"; (6) "conditions: lighting, ventilating, heating"; (7) "remarks" (fourteen blank lines); and (8) "dates of visits, initials of visitor to follow date."

Our suggested form is quite frankly adapted from the ideas which have been combined in the Canadian form. Its two sides, as has been stated, contain space for recording 48 orders.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DATA IN REGARD TO APPLICANTS

I. THE DATA NEEDED

IT IS obvious that if an employment office is to act as an agent of the employer in selecting applicants it must deal with the same facts that the employer would in making the selection. Everything that goes to make up a man's all-round competency for a position should be known, not only in the employer's interest but in the applicant's as well.

Some employment offices have placed the greatest emphasis upon the securing of information about applicants, particularly those offices maintained by philanthropic organizations or on behalf of juniors. But, unfortunately, the small budgets and inadequate personnel of many of our public offices have been the cause of much poor work in this respect. On the whole, the shortcoming in obtaining information is less marked in the case of applicants than in that of employers' orders, but it is still serious.

Let us examine the types of information which an employer may wish or need to consider before hiring a new worker. To this end we brought together and studied over 300 separate registration forms. They included forms from the public employment offices of the United States, Canada, and England; from employment departments of industrial concerns; from philanthropic and junior bureaus and from fee-charging employment agencies. As in the examination of different employers' order forms, the greatest variance of detail and of emphasis was found. The simplest require merely the applicant's name, address, and kind of work wanted. Others go to considerable effort to provide for an evaluation of the mental, moral, physical, and social characteristics of an applicant as well as of his education, training, and experience. Without question, the registration card has received more elaboration than any other employment office form, due to the emphasis which has been placed on helping the individual find work. It is significant that over 300 different registration

forms could be obtained for study when only 150 employers' order forms were collected in the same effort.

The Data Regarding Applicants Classified

The items from these 300 registration blanks have been drawn off, classified and set forth in outline form, and an attempt made to include or indicate all the types of information they contain. The purpose and the method are identical with those employed above in classifying the data pertaining to employers' orders.

TYPES OF INFORMATION WHICH AN EMPLOYER OR AN EMPLOYMENT OFFICE MAY WISH TO KNOW IN REGARD TO AN APPLICANT

I. **IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT**[1]

1. **Name in full**
2. **Address and telephone number of**
   a. **Present residence:** (how long lived there?)
   b. Present business
   c. Permanent mail address
   d. Legal residence
3. **Signature**
4. Color hair, eyes, and complexion[2]
5. Such marks as scars, missing fingers, distorted features, and so on[2]

II. **EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE**

1. **Education**
   a. Academic (including training for standard professions)
      (1) **Age upon leaving school**
      (2) **Farthest or highest point reached, whether in grammar school, high school, college or graduate study** (including night school, when so stated)
      (3) Any degrees and special honors received
      (4) Subjects of specialization or major study
      (5) Study or travel abroad with time and place, as well as any other special circumstances of education which are pertinent to purpose of application
      (6) Correspondence courses

[1] Bold or black faced type is used in this outline to indicate items which are usually required; light faced type for items less often required or of lesser importance.

[2] Not likely to be used by a public employment office under ordinary circumstances, although these were found on some of the forms.

b. **Special "vocational" or shop courses** which gave formal training for certain skilled occupations (including night school or part time school when so stated)

c. **Regular apprenticeship in shop or otherwise**

2. **Experience**

a. **Statement of all previous employments** of three months or over, with dates

(1) Name of employer

(2) Address of employer

(3) In what department and under whose direction work was done

(4) **Exactly what work was performed and its relation to present ability in position wanted**

(5) Cause of leaving

b. **Details of experience or training which have prepared applicant for position sought,** with any special facts and successes (of any kind) which are pertinent

c. Total time during which applicant has been unemployed since leaving school

3. **Special points**

(Sometimes repetitive of points above)

a. What foreign languages can applicant (1) speak, (2) read, (3) write; extent of ability indicated

b. Member of what professional or craft organization?

c. List of books and articles published

d. Number of people supervised or directed at one time

e. Longest time ever remained in one job

f. What is the highest salary ever received? For how long?

g. Is applicant able to obtain a license in those occupations which require one?

III. CAPACITIES AND LIMITATIONS

1. **Definitely determinable capacities and limitations**

a. As learned by trained employment workers who are not scientists (through observation, questioning, or actual investigation of facts)

(1) **Age or date of birth**

(2) **Physique**

(a) Height

(b) Weight

(c) **Obvious limitations or defects of sight, hearing, breathing, limbs,** and so on
(d) Right-handed, left-handed or ambidextrous

(3) Mentality: an empiric judgment in cases of extreme and obvious incapacity. (Ability to grasp and answer questions, to carry out simple directions, with such evidence as educational record and occupational experience give, are the criteria of this judgment)

(4) Habits and practices
(a) Use of tobacco in its various forms
(b) Use of liquor
(c) Habitual use of injurious drugs
(d) Practices or acts involving the moral and legal codes

b. By experts through scientific method only
(1) The points covered by a complete physical examination chart
(2) Mental age or development and general intelligence, measured within the limits reached by science
(3) Mental capacity for certain branches of knowledge or mental attainment (specific abilities), as for music or mathematics, measurement again subject to the present stage of psychological progress

2. Mental, moral and emotional characteristics whose presence or absence is of the greatest moment, but which have never been scientifically measured and the evidences of which vary even in the same individual [1]

Note: These are characteristics which people in everyday life are under the necessity of estimating for practical purposes. This estimate is often incorrect, or else being correctly made under one set of conditions fails under new conditions. Successful judgment depends to a great extent upon the presence of many of these variable qualities in the estimator himself! The estimate is all too often based on what in legal parlance would be called prejudice, and this is as likely to be true of an employment interviewer as of others. We must recognize that as yet there is

[1] One of the soundest as well as most experienced employment superintendents in the United States wrote as follows after reading the above in manuscript:

"I suppose that you include this item because you found it, but if it must be included the note that accompanies the paragraph should be much more emphatic. I think snap judgments of this kind are very serious, and if employment workers pretend to even approximate such judgments I am sorry; they would very properly be classified with fortune tellers."

nothing scientific about it. The following list is illustrative only and can be extended indefinitely:

> Aggressiveness, ambition, convincingness, co-operativeness, courtesy, culture, decisiveness, discretion, extravagance, flippancy, frankness, generosity, humor, imagination, initiative, idealism, judgment, leadership, loyalty, magnetism, optimism, perseverance, poise, resourcefulness, tact, temperament, versatility, and so forth.

IV. CIVIC AND SOCIAL STATUS

1. **Sex**
2. Race; "color"
3. **Relation (civic and social) to community or nation**
   a. Birthplace (country, state, or city) (1) of self; (2) of father; (3) of mother
   b. "Mother tongue" or language of home (ancestral nationality)
   c. Naturalized (fully) if foreign born? or "declaration of intention?"
   d. How long resident in (1) United States; (2) state; (3) city or district?
   e. Place of longest residence
4. **Marital condition:** single, married, widowed, separated, divorced, deserted
5. Religious faith: (a) what religious faith? member what church? . . . If not member, what church attend?
6. Dependents: various facts on (a) age, sex, and relationship; (b) "working . . . non-working;" (c) "partial . . . full;" (d) "wage contribution to family?"
7. Mode of living: (a) "at home" or "with family;" (b) boarding
8. Social interest or activities; (a) membership in societies, clubs, and offices held, etc.; (b) church, athletic or other activities; (c) reading, recreation, etc.
9. General family conditions: as sickness, family budget, rent, insurance, family history, past dependence, etc.[1]

V. DESIRES AND CONCESSIONS WITH RESPECT TO WORK WANTED

1. **Kind of Work**
   a. **Kind of work wanted** (full statement)
   b. **Other kinds of work which would be accepted or considered**
   c. **Kinds or features of work unacceptable**

[1] Not likely to be used in a public employment office.

d. Ultimate position toward which applicant is working
e. Accept a resident position ("living in")?

2. **Compensation**
   a. **Amount of compensation (all in cash, or otherwise)** desired
   c. Least wages that would be accepted
3. **Place of Work**
   a. Where prefer to work?
   b. Willing to work in other place than that preferred? Willing to leave city?
   c. Any places unacceptable? Any distance limits?
   d. Will family accompany to another place?
   e. Accept a traveling job?
4. **Hours of Work**
   a. Accept night work?
   b. Accept Sunday work?
   c. Any other stipulations as to hours, and so forth?
5. **When free to begin work?** (Exact date, or on two weeks' notice to present employer, and so forth.)
6. **Want permanent, temporary, or casual work?** Willing to take temporary or casual?
7. **Transportation;** (1) Willing or able to pay railroad fare? (2) Amount available? (3) Value of baggage if fare is advanced?
8. Wish or able to invest money in connection with position?
9. **Pay cost of telegrams or other special messages which are incurred in order to give better service to applicant?**
10. Will other members of family work too?
11. **Applicant able and willing to furnish tools needed in particular trade?**

VI. **REFERENCES** (as to character, to ability, and to the truth of all statements)

1. Names and addresses of former employers
2. Names and addresses of others who know of applicant's character or ability
3. Any written recommendations in hand?
4. Shall present employer be approached for reference?

VII. **REGISTRATION OF JUNIOR WORKERS**

Note: These special points for the registration of junior workers are in addition to the first six sections of the outline given above which are themselves applicable to juniors; the following points are set apart for clarity and convenience[1]

[1] See also chapter on Employment Work for Juniors, page 564.

1. Detailed school experience, with various instructors' estimates of capacities, abilities, and limitations. The following list is intended only as an indication of the detail with which this may or should be gone into
   a. Cumulative record of each of certain standard points throughout a child's school career, such as rating in each of the courses or subjects of instruction, in tardiness and absence, "conduct," "effort or attitude," and so on
   b. Cumulative record of annual physical examination, listing all of the health points or possible defects for which medical authorities have recommended examination in this connection
   c. Record of mental tests such as Binet-Simon tests, and the like, if any have been given
   d. Recommendations of teachers (1) as to further training for pupil, and (2) as to possible vocations for pupil, based on pupil's interest in and apparent capacity for accomplishment in certain definite lines
   e. Estimates of teachers and principals, especially from the fifth through the eighth grades, on such points as "general ability, leadership, initiative, self-reliance, ambition, adaptability, cheerfulness, reliability, honesty, neatness, obedience, industry, courtesy."

      Note: The unscientific character of judgments under point (e) cannot be over-emphasized. If depended upon by inexperienced "counselors" who are not able to discount them, great injustice might be done. Yet the value of such records as an accumulation of empirical judgments cannot be entirely dismissed in the absence of anything better. As the inspiration of "vocational guidance" they must be used with the greatest reserve
2. Home, family, and general environment outside the school
   a. Detailed facts about members of child's family and household, indicating the causes or explanation of moral, mental, and physical characteristics of child
   b. Physical condition and general environment of the home itself
   c. Social and recreational interests of child, such as reading, hobbies, companions, and the like
   d. Family income and its relation to necessity for child's working, to choice of vocation and vocational training

II. METHOD OF OBTAINING THESE DATA

As the items of information listed above are of various kinds, so the methods employed to obtain each group of items vary greatly. The easiest way to discuss these methods is to take up the chief groups of items or types of information one at a time and see just how interviewers in public employment offices deal with each. This will require in some cases an evaluation of methods which are being used or experimented with outside of public employment offices in order to judge of their adaptability to our problem; but this discussion has to do primarily and only with methods applicable to the art of interviewing in public employment offices.

A re-classification of the employment queries in regard to an applicant as presented in the outline above has been made for the purposes of our discussion. It resulted in the following 11 types. They comprise the most important headings under which an applicant's qualifications are scrutinized. The extent to which each type of qualifications or pertinent facts can be determined in a public employment office is taken up in topical order; it is not intended to be the order in which an interviewer would ask the questions:

1. Identification; name, address, signature
2. Education (statement with details)
3. Statement of experience and occupational training (former employers, apprenticeship, dates, and so on)
4. Occupational (a) knowledge; (b) skill
5. Physical capacities and limitations
6. Mental capacities and limitations
7. Mental, moral, emotional, and physical characteristics; personality, and so forth
8. Civic and social status
9. Desires of applicant; kind of work, compensation, hours, and so on
10. Habits and behavior
11. References (as to character, skill, and the like)

1. Identification

The applicant's name, address, telephone number, and so forth, are matters of routine information that are secured at the very beginning of the interview. If the office method requires applicants to fill out their own registration cards these items are answered as a matter of course. If the interviewer fills out the card the information is secured by question and answer.

The practice of securing the signature of each applicant upon the registration card has received an almost universal approval from employment workers, even though the registration forms of both the United States and Canada fail to provide a special space for "signature." The formal signing of his name to the card of application impresses a man, whatever his occupation or station in life, with the serious character of the matter and the necessity of telling the exact truth. The writers know from experience that this signature is valuable, in a larger percentage of cases than would seem probable, as an identification of men who deny ever having applied at some particular office before. Indeed, several cases are recalled of applicants who denied the authenticity of their signature when confronted with it! Of course this question of signature arises only when the remainder of the card is to be filled out by the interviewer; it is put down automatically when the applicant fills it out. The matter need not be overemphasized, but securing of the signature is recommended.

No other general method of identification is necessary for a public employment office; items of age, occupation, former employers, and the like, as stated on first application will be compared with what the applicant states on subsequent interviews.

2. Education

The value of information in regard to an applicant's education depends, of course, on the kind of position sought. A stenographer or a teacher in a high school must have a minimum educational qualification, and consequently the employment office must secure the information. This is usually done by simply recording the applicant's statement on the point. Sometimes a few ques-

tions will bring out the character of the courses of study which the applicant has pursued.

The truthfulness of an applicant's statements in regard to education can be checked by applying to the school. If this is done, a further statement as to the applicant's scholarship and all-round competency will also be requested. In public employment offices it will be possible to get references in special instances only, as in the cases of teachers or engineers, for example, where the element of time is not so great and where education is a vital qualification. In the case of juniors where the school record is about the only "experience" that can be looked into, the school should always be referred to as a reference.

It will be noted in the outline that "Education" may cover not only the schools or colleges attended but correspondence courses, special vocational courses, any specially educative experience, such as foreign travel.

3. Statement as to Experience

Practically all employers consider it quite necessary to know by whom an applicant has been employed previously, and the application blanks used by employers always ask for the details of former employment. For much the same reason a public employment office must obtain the same facts, even when it does not intend to look up the references. Here the chief aim is to judge of the applicant's trade or technical qualifications from the opportunity which former employments have offered for training. If a man says he has worked for ten years at Smith and Company and the truth of the statement is unquestioned, that alone is a proof of trade knowledge and skill if Smith and Company are known to enforce a high standard of workmanship.

Aside from the names of former employers, there is great value in knowing the number of months or years which an applicant has worked at an occupation; not that this is conclusive evidence of his ability by any means, but it furnishes a presumption and a basis for further testing. If a man has spent ten years at a trade and it later developes that his trade knowledge and skill are inadequate, the fact is most enlightening as to his possible capacity for and his value in that trade.

The information under this head is not necessarily a test in itself, but is a straight statement of occupational history in the light of which tests are made. Needless to say that this experience statement should cover all the various fields of an applicant's previous employment. One of the greatest criticisms of, and a cause of much unsatisfactory work in, public employment offices has been a conspicuous failure to take complete experience statements and to record them in outline on the registration card. Lack of time and staff are explanations which we understand but which do not change the fact.

As in all other types of qualifications, the thoroughness with which this occupational history must be gone into varies with the kind of work sought. A harvest hand or a construction laborer will be chosen for size, weight, and apparent suitability, whereas a governess, a dairy hand, or a toolmaker will be judged in great part from a statement of their former experience. Oftentimes the employment which a man has had outside his chief occupation is most enlightening with regard to his capacity in the latter.

Former employers may be inquired of by mail or telephone for a verification of the statements made by applicants, and estimates of skill or all-round competency requested at the same time. This question of references is discussed as a separate topic below.

4. Occupational Knowledge and Skill

Valuable as is a statement of previous experience, the mention of fields in which a man has had an opportunity to gain occupational knowledge and skill is by no means an infallible guarantee of their full possession. Having established the fact that an applicant has worked in a certain occupation, the next task is to determine the extent to which he is actually competent in it. In other words, some test of the technical information and skill which the applicant possesses must be applied.

There is as yet no complete and infallible method of doing this short of a fair trial at the work itself. In the past the following method was used: foremen selected from the group of waiting applicants at the office or gate of a factory a few likely looking ones, asked a few shrewd questions calculated to eliminate the entirely unfitted, and put those remaining on the job without

further formality. At the end of an hour, or a day, or a week they were "fired" if they had not "made good." It is against this expensive system of "hiring and firing" that employment departments in large establishments are being created and public employment offices being instituted. If it costs too much to try out every applicant on the work itself, the problem of correctly gauging a man's ability by a shorter and less expensive test must be solved.

Performance Test

To have a workshop in which the regular tools of a trade may be used and to have this special workshop entirely at the disposal of the employment office for testing purposes is a natural and obvious suggestion. Here applicants may be asked to pick up and demonstrate the use of tools or to operate a machine properly. An expert workman could tell in a few moments how much skill each applicant possessed. This method has been used in combination with vestibule schools of certain corporations. As a means of protecting the production department from the necessity of testing applicants, it is a very promising development. The personnel division of the Army adopted and extensively used this method in selecting skilled workmen from among recruits; they spoke of it as a "performance test." When a man said he was a truck driver before he was assigned to duty, he was taken out to a truck and given an opportunity to perform certain evolutions with it and to demonstrate that he knew how to take care of the engine or to find out what was wrong with the electric system when it wouldn't work. Just so with cabinetmakers or telephone linemen.

A manufacturing company which wishes to do its testing according to the above method would install tests for only those occupations which it employs. But a public employment office would be obliged to set up test machinery for every skilled occupation in the community. This is obviously impossible. We do not mean to say that certain occupations which are of pre-eminent importance in a certain city may not in the future, when public employment offices are thoroughly established, be provided with such testing apparatus. This would seem desirable. But for the present—say, the next ten years—such a provision is out of the

question save for clerical workers and, perhaps, a few others where no expensive and special machinery is required.

The Problem

What is needed at once, so that a fairly accurate determination of trade knowledge and skill can be arrived at, is a development of the method of interviewing. The public employment office does not aim at such fine selection that the employer himself will not need to pass finally on the candidate's suitability; but it does wish to prevent a machinist's helper being sent to apply for a position as toolmaker.

In the past the interviewer has usually been obliged to accept the man's word that he was a first-class toolmaker. The number of years he had worked at the trade, the names of previous employers, and previous rates of wages were taken into consideration as a check. But if the man knew a little about the trade and intentionally magnified that little he could make his story plausible. (In this field the employment office rarely has time to look up references.) A few technical terms might be picked up, and "Can you read blueprints?" or "Can you read a micrometer?" might be asked, but a simple affirmative answer would end the question. Consequently the interviewer is wholly dependent upon the honesty of the applicant and upon the applicant's own knowledge of the requirements of the trade in which he professes skill and training. Of course many interviewers in public employment offices have been skilled craftsmen themselves, but a moulder or toolmaker would be obliged to interview boilermakers and coppersmiths as well as moulders and toolmakers. With the details of these other trades, the skilled moulder may be easily imposed upon. As the head of one office said, "With these limitations it is not surprising that the employer sometimes complained that an applicant came into one door of an employment office as a laborer and went out another as a toolmaker."

To this problem of testing, by intensive interviewing, the amount of a man's previously acquired skill or knowledge in a standardized occupation, the Division of Trade Tests of the Army Personnel organization, together with the Trade Interview Methods Section of the United States Employment Service, have made a most notable contribution. The method worked out is applicable to

the conditions under which such tests must be applied in a public employment office. For this reason some detailed attention will be given to the development and the theory of this form of test.

How the Problem Was Met in the Army

Early in the war it was necessary to send to France on construction work men specially skilled preparatory to the arrival of the main army. Those sent must have their trade knowledge and skill established in advance and beyond all doubt. Furthermore, they must be recruited, tested, and shipped in great numbers and with great speed.

Before it was possible to develop a test it was necessary to have exact descriptions of the duties and qualifications of the positions to be filled; i. e., occupational descriptions. One of the first undertakings of the Division of Trade Tests was the description of occupations covering the various positions for which the Army had need. This resulted in a book known as Trade Specifications and Occupational Index of Trades and Professions in the United States Army, compiled by J. J. Swan. The following is a sample description:

E

ELECTRICIAN, INTERIOR WIREMAN 10-w EAEFA

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DUTIES

1. Installation of all classes of interior house, building and factory, power and lighting wiring.

QUALIFICATIONS

2. Must be thoroughly familiar with Standard Underwriter's Rules for wiring, able to work to diagram and experienced on interior wiring for two or three wire circuit, direct or alternating current.
   Must have a practical knowledge of calculating and proportioning power or light wiring systems for warehouses, hotels, barracks and other general buildings.
   Must understand running concealed work in armored, flexible or iron pipe conduits, the installation of switches, and be competent to put up exposed work with knobs and cleats, for permanent or temporary emergency use.
   Must understand placing panel and outlet boxes, and be able to set up small lighting or power switchboards.
   Must be capable of installing motors, arc, incandescent or mercury vapor lamps.
   Should be able to install interior telephone and annunciator wiring and instruments.

SUBSTITUTE OCCUPATIONS

3. Wireman, lighting wireman, electrician.

Such descriptions, essential as they were, only emphasized the necessity of testing men to make sure that they possessed the qualifications demanded.

In the first place army conditions made it necessary that these tests be given by men unskilled in the trade covered by the test, as otherwise a large number of valuable tradesmen would have been kept from active service to act as interviewers. Moreover, recruits had to be tested in many different camps all over the country, and very few camps had enough men in any one trade to have thoroughly engaged the time of an expert in that trade.

Another requirement for a test was that it should be capable of being used with comparable results in all parts of the country by interviewers of different training and background. An electrician from California might have to work in France on the same job with one from New York, and their abilities must have been determined according to the same standard. When the safety of a body of troops depended upon electrical communication, an "electrician" must mean the same thing regardless of the camp in which each man should have qualified for that assignment. The test then had to be such that local conditions would not materially affect its accuracy.

Dispatch was another requirement. So fast were men being inducted into the Army that not more than ten minutes could be given to the interview.

With these requirements in mind a request was made of employment men and civil service departments for aid. The result was a set of questions the answers to which were intended to identify first-class workmen. Among the sets for the various trades the following are examples:

1. **Auto Mechanics.** What is the general construction of rear axles?
2. **Blueprinter.** Explain the entire process of making blueprints.
3. **Cabinetmaker.** What is the difference between a block plane and a smoothing plane?
4. **Coppersmith.** Should a pipe be hot or cold when bent, if sand is used as a filler?

It was immediately decided to try out the tests by submitting

them to men actually engaged in the trade whose skill was known at the time they were tested—to both first-class tradesmen and to apprentices. If the result of this trial showed that the skilled man always passed and the apprentice failed, in part at least, it might be assumed that the test would actually rate a man of unknown skill.

When the questions of which the above are samples were actually tried out on men in the crafts, it was found that in practically every case they called for answers which could be rated for correctness only by men who were themselves experts. No two craftsmen would explain the "general construction of rear axles" in the same terms. An expert auto mechanic would be able to evaluate a rambling attempt at a description and say whether the man knew what he was talking about. But an interviewer who had been a head bookkeeper would be quite incapable of passing on the answer. The fourth question gives a man the opportunity to make a guess whether the answer should be "hot" or "cold" which quite invalidates it as a test of knowledge.

The Test

After a long series of experiments the form of question known as the "one word" or "key word" question was used. Taking the same ideas involved in the above questions and rephrasing them, the following questions each requiring one definite word or phrase in answer and allowing of no other, were prepared:

1. What is the type of axle called in which the entire load is carried by the housing? Answer: Full floating
2. What chemical is used in the water in which a blueprint is washed after being exposed? Answer: Bicromate of potash
3. What plane do you use to plane a stick across the grain? Answer: Block
4. With what do you fill a piece of copper pipe when it is bent hot? Answer: Sand

To recapitulate: *this type of question can be asked and answered in a minimum of time, and the interviewer can judge the answer without himself being an expert;* questions must never demand an explanation because no two men will explain a process or principle in

the same way, but they are asked in such a way that a correct answer could not be given unless the process or principle were understood.

Two forms of expression are used: first, the question which contains certain trade terms within the body of the question and is, therefore, meaningless to anyone but a person familiar with that trade; and secondly, the question which calls for an answer such as the name of a part or tool with which only a skilled tradesman is familiar.

Trade Tests Used by Employment Service

The United States Employment Service created a special division known as the Trade Interview Methods Section which operated an experimental office at 1184 Broadway, New York City. The work of this Section was to adapt the type of questioning described above as worked out by the Division of Trade Tests of the Army Personnel organization to the needs of the Employment Service in ordinary peace time work. A fine beginning was made and a notable contribution rendered. The following set of ten questions are selected from among those that were actually used for testing cabinetmakers in that office:

1. **Question.** What do you call a joint on the corner of a box where both boards are beveled off at an angle of 45 degrees?
   Answer. Mitre
2. **Question.** How is veneer one-quarter of an inch thick treated before glueing?
   Answer. Heated (steamed)
3. **Question.** What are two pieces of wood held together with while the glue is hardening?
   Answer. Hand-screws (clamps)
4. **Question.** What is the name of the largest plane commonly used?
   Answer. Joint (fore) (jointer) (joiner)
5. **Question.** What tool do you use to drive a chisel?
   Answer. Mallet
6. **Question.** How may a bruise in a piece of wood be raised?
   Answer. Wet (hot iron on damp cloth)
7. **Question.** What is used to close the pores of open-grained wood before finishing?
   Answer. Filler (glue)

8. **Question.** With what kind of joint is a table leg fastened to the rail of a table?
   Answer. Mortise (tenon) (dowel)
9. **Question.** What hand-saw would you use to cut a round piece out of a one-inch board?
   Answer. Compass (keyhole)
10. **Question.** How is an oak log sawed to get the best effect of the grain?
    Answer. Quartered.

Picture Test. In addition to these technical questions the Division of Trade Tests of the Army developed another form of examination called the "picture test." For each trade or occupation a picture of the tools used was reproduced upon a sheet of paper. They were distinguished by numbers so that the interviewer had a key to their names printed on a separate list. These pictures were used in conjunction with the question test, and an applicant could be asked to point out certain tools which were named, or else to name certain tools which were pointed out. Likewise pictures of a whole machine could be used.

Value of Tests. In evaluation of these questions and picture tests for use in a public employment bureau, it may be fairly said that they are a big step in the right direction. The questions have not been sufficiently refined as yet. For instance, the story is told that scores of skilled craftsmen from the West were rated as novices in the Army because they gave "wrong" answers to certain questions, when it was later discovered that the answers given were the correct craft terms used in the West! This is only a warning in regard to the care which must be used in preparing questions, not an argument against their effectiveness. At any rate they will be an inestimable aid to any interviewer when considered as additional equipment.

Correlation Between Trade Knowledge and Trade Skill. One other point is worth noting. These tests involve trade knowledge or information rather than trade skill directly. Combined with actual performance tests as used in the Army the examination would be complete. The following statement by one of the men most closely connected with the creation of the trade test speaks for itself:

Experiments showed that there was a high correlation between trade vocabulary and trade skill. Providing a man was familiar with the English language, it was comparatively easy to ask questions which would quickly and accurately give a basis for estimating the degree of his trade skill. It was found that in every trade where there were certain expressions, names, or measurements which were limited to men actually engaged in that particular trade, and if a question was worded so as to call for one of these trade expressions or names, it would be answered without difficulty by a craftsman, and be entirely foreign to a novice. All questions used were submitted to experts, journeymen, apprentices and novices. From the basis of these data certain questions were selected which showed statistically that they would differentiate between the various classes of craftsmen.[1]

We believe that further experiments in which thousands of cases shall be taken into consideration are necessary for a refinement of questions and for a final opinion as to the correlation between trade knowledge and trade skill, but we heartily endorse the method. It is to be remembered and cannot be repeated too often, that a public employment office cannot be the court of last resort in any case. If the office frankly states that it will test carefully for trade knowledge, employers may well supplement this effort by accepting the responsibility of giving "performance tests." It is certain that the correlation between trade knowledge and trade skill would be high enough to justify the adoption of the trade information test in any case.

Another possibility for the future suggests itself. Some central testing agency might be established which would employ a thorough performance test to give a man a certificate of workmanship. The public employment office then would be obliged only to note and record the fact that the applicant possessed a certificate. If a definite record of so many years service with a reputable firm could be established by a rating which could be recorded in the employment office the necessity of continual testing would be reduced; the employment office is here being looked upon as a center to which a man would return for each new job. Of course this suggestion is not fully applicable until the employment

[1] From private manuscript of Max Watson, who assisted in the development of the tests in the office at 1184 Broadway, New York, and to whom we are indebted for a description of the trade tests.

office as a permanent institution is accepted by employers and workers alike. It might be that a strong craft union should undertake the rating and certificating of its members in self-defense against less skilled workmen.

Trade Extension Rooms in New York. A valuable experiment in central testing of clerical, trade, and other workers has been made by the so-called Trade Extension Rooms (opened in February, 1915) operated by the Julia Richman High School and the Manhattan Trade School in New York City. While to test craft skill was not the only object of the Trade Extension Rooms, the facilities for such testing were made available to the public and other non-commercial employment offices of the city. Applicants for clerical work were referred by those employment offices to the Extension Rooms and told that a high rating from the test would enable the office to recommend the applicant for a better position. The results of the tests which were given are in line with the above suggestion for a recognized certification or testing agency.

5. Physical Capacities and Limitations

The value and necessity of an employer's listing certain definite physical qualifications as minimum requirements for a position need no argument. Where employers have not themselves come to see that physical examinations are necessary to test efficiency, workmen's compensation laws have forced the need upon their attention. It is in the worker's interest that he be not sent to a position where unknowingly his eyesight, his heart, or his back, for example, are unequal to the strain likely to be put upon them. This thought presumes as part of the job analysis a consideration of the physical requirements of a position and the transmitting of those requirements to an employment office along with the order.

By way of digression, may we say that a complete occupational description might and should give attention to *qualifications which are not necessarily required* as well as to those that are. We are familiar with occupational descriptions which indicated the requirement of good eyesight; but one which as a matter of course listed loss of one arm and flat feet as no handicap is not so familiar. *If ever we are to take real steps toward the employment of "handicapped" men and women in legitimate industry we must determine in what*

occupations they are not handicapped; and to this end occupational description must define not merely the minimum requirements of an occupation, but the *exact* requirements, specifying with regard to certain types of injuries or handicaps whether they are prohibited or not.

If in hiring workers an employer is going to enforce physical requirements, it is as necessary for a public employment office to consider them as it is to consider technical requirements. How far it is practicable for an office to give complete physical examinations at present is a question. Without doubt juniors and the handicapped should be examined if they are to be given adequate service. In the classification in the first part of this chapter physical testing is divided between tests which require a physician and those for which a trained interviewer is sufficient. Height, weight, and obvious defects of limbs, sight, hearing, breathing, or general health fall in the latter class. It is likely that for a time public offices will be able to do little more than this. They should attempt at once to send juniors to a school physician and the handicapped to a special physician for examinations.

In the future, however, much more may be done. Just as the United States civil service examinations require as a prerequisite a physician's certificate which the applicant provides at his own expense, so public employment offices may require for registration certificates of examination which the city health department will give without charge. This would relieve the office administration of giving physical examinations and yet get the same result.[1]

It is likely that the possibility of better relationship between people and their work, which might follow from further research in the "physical requirements" part of occupational descriptions, is beyond our fondest hope. That the public employment bureau would be most influential in the application of data so gained is most likely. However this cannot be part of the employment program during the next ten years, probably, and may be still more remote.

[1] It need hardly be said that the purpose of these examinations is not to eliminate handicapped persons from work opportunities, but to determine the kind of work they can best perform.

6. Mental Capacities and Limitations

The measurement of mental capacity, either for general mental development or for the possession of specific abilities in certain fields such as music or mathematics, is still in the realm of scientific experiment, though great progress is being made.[1] For this reason, even more impracticable than the giving of physical examinations is the wholesale giving of psychological tests in a public employment office.

As industry and factory processes become more specialized the proportion of skilled craftsmen diminishes. On the other side is the vast army of people who perform a limited number of operations requiring varying degrees of dexterity, time for mental reaction, nervous endurance, and the like. The measurement by the employment or hiring departments to estimate a man's qualifications is an important and interesting step and one in which further experimentation is most desirable. But this, for the present, is not a function of the public employment office. To say that it never will be, would be indulging in gratuitous prophecy.

In cases of juniors, where accepted tests have been given in the schools or where an expert can be induced to give his assistance, mental tests may be most valuable to the employment office. Indeed, wherever science does make an advance in testing and the results are available to an office they should be utilized; but in this field only scientific methods, not phrenological nor other plausible guesswork, should be considered.

As a practical matter we do make empiric judgments as to a person's mental capacity; the impressions received even by a layman in visiting a subnormal class in a public school immediately after a visit to a regular grade of the same age are very striking. Ability to grasp and answer questions, with such evidence as educational records and occupational experience give, are the criteria from which we are obliged to make everyday judgments. But they are empirical judgments only; frankly, we are not able to standardize and present the methods by which they are arrived at. Without wishing to be pedantic in the use of the term, the writers are convinced that only through a scientific method can such standardiza-

[1] Here capacity means ability to acquire, or adaptability, not present knowledge.

tion be reached. Interviewers in the meantime must go on making their own judgments according to their own experience in dealing with people; the wider their individual experience the more reliable their judgments are likely to be.

And in the making of empirical judgments any rule-of-thumb methods of classification should be adopted with caution; if we did not feel that such a recommendation would be too negative we should advocate that no methods of the kind be adopted. As an example of some of these classifications, the human mind has been grouped by some persons interested in employment questions into types that are presumably mutually exclusive as follows: (1) the executive type; (2) the detail type; (3) the promotion type; (4) the accounting type; (5) the clerical type; (6) the selling type; (7) the mechanical type, and so on. Examples of this kind are common. All the adjectives used do describe attributes of the mind, but that people can be so tagged and labeled fairly is doubtful. The temptation to label people is very great, but the science and art of successfully doing it have not as yet been discovered.

7. Mental, Moral, Emotional, and Physical Characteristics; Personality

In the classification on pages 323–4, the following list of personal characteristics, tendencies, attributes, or qualities are included. They were selected quite at random from among two or three hundred such terms.

> Aggressiveness, ambition, convincingness, co-operativeness, courtesy, culture, decisiveness, discretion, extravagance, flippancy, frankness, generosity, humor, imagination, initiative, idealism, judgment, leadership, loyalty, magnetism, optimism, perseverance, poise, resourcefulness, tact, temperament, versatility, and so on.

There is no limit to the extension of this list of human characteristics, attainments, tendencies, and the like. Many of them fall under the heading of "personality." They comprise attributes which are variously moral, mental, emotional and physical, volitional, or other. To arrive at any standardized method for measuring their presence in a man we would first be under the necessity of classifying them accurately and reducing the list to a few or a

definite number of basic qualities or characteristics. An attempt to do so will show that many of the 300 terms so shade into one another in meaning that classification presents the greatest difficulty. First of all arises a lack of acceptable definitions. The dictionary does not help a great deal.

Yet these words do represent characteristics that are of vital importance as qualifications for a particular position. In fact they are vitally important in all social relationships. For this reason the ability to deal with people is made up of the ability consciously or intuitively to recognize the possession of these characteristics by other people; and then the ability on one's own part to employ certain very definite characteristics in our relations with them.

The difficulty, or, it seems more accurate to say for the present the impossibility, of arriving at a standard method for estimating these characteristics, is seen in the fact that the evidences of them vary greatly in the same individual with change of environment.

With regard to these characteristics the following quotation from Dr. Link is in point:

> At best, the process of employment is a staged process, and the activities which an applicant is likely to manifest under these staged conditions are not the activities which go to make up his truest self. And to judge him by the irrelevant acts which he commits under these unnatural conditions is to do him and the industry concerned a grave injustice.[1]

Employers are going to continue to demand employes who are "honest, ambitious but not too ambitious, loyal and resourceful": they are going to hire people because they believe that they recognize these qualities in them. And employment interviewers must continue to send candidates to employers to whom they think the employer will attribute those characteristics upon sight. Moreover, they will desire that the employer shall not be mistaken. But as for recommending that the interviewer depend upon what he learns by looking a man in the eye, or looking at the man's hands or at his soiled collar, we believe that such advice will help very little. Not that we would disparage some excellent things that have been written on these points; but this field of judgment is so personal

[1] Link, Henry C.: Employment Psychology; the Application of Scientific Methods to the Selection, Training, and Grading of Employes, p. 247. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

that wide experience on the interviewer's part we believe will be his chief aid.

And, incidentally, may we add here that too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the necessity of providing employment offices with interviewers of the widest experience in dealing with people; interviewers in whom sympathy and understanding come before technical knowledge. This means the payment of liberal salaries.

8. Civic and Social Status[1]

The necessity for determining a man's nationality, citizenship, marital condition, needs no discussion. Wherever these items are asked for in an employer's requirements they are of interest to an employment office.

The necessity and the propriety of a public employment office's inquiring the race and religious faith of an applicant have already been discussed when the matter arose in regard to an employer's orders.[2]

The facts under this head may be obtained by questioning or by an applicant's filling in the application form himself. Truthfulness can be checked by references; possibly by careful cross-questioning.

9. Desires of Applicant

The determination of the kind of work a man "wants" is an all important part of the interview; it calls up the possibility of asking whether he is applying for work that he would like best to do, that he can get, or that in the long run he can most competently perform. In general, each of these points with regard to possible jobs should be a subject of discussion between the applicant and interviewer. This is not the place to discuss the desirability of "vocational advice" by the interviewer; that he should volunteer information with regard to future possibilities of certain kinds of positions, and the like, is inevitable. Interviewing in a public employment office unquestionably involves entering into an applicant's vocational problems, as far as the limitations of time will permit.

[1] For a full list of the sub-points which are involved in the discussion of each of these 11 heads, see the classification on pages 321–326.

[2] See page 305 ff.

If selecting for positions those applicants who are most likely to be satisfied with the conditions they will find in them is part of an interviewer's duty to employers, the determination of what an applicant wants and what he is likely to be satisfied with is a necessary step in that selection.

As has already been suggested, this information can best be secured by intimate discussion; question and answer. From an applicant for certain kinds of work even additional information might be needed; for instance, whether a woodsman had blankets or a harvest hand railway fare; whether a blast furnace-man or a machinist was willing to work on the night shift—questions that would not be put to a teacher or a stenographer.[1]

10. Habits and Behavior

The facts as to a man's habits and reputation may be gathered partly from what he says in the interview and partly by referring to those who have known him. Under habits come the use of drugs, tobacco, and liquor. Smoking might absolutely disqualify a man for work around a place where gasoline or other inflammable materials are stored.

Also under this heading would come any past experiences in law breaking which were of a character to make their recording necessary.

11. References

As a means of establishing the truth of their statements and the character of their qualifications, it has become a custom for persons seeking work to invite a questioning of their personal or business acquaintances and former employers. Evidently judgment in regard to a man based on personal contact of considerable duration is worth more than one based upon a single interview, *if the person who has had this long acquaintance can be induced to speak frankly.*

"References," as these statements are called, are of two general types. The written reference from a former employer which the applicant produces at the moment, and the confidential statement made in response to a request from the prospective employer. The first addressed "To Whom It May Concern," is usually written at the request of the applicant and is given to him unsealed for general

[1] Types of information under this head are suggested on pages 324 and 325.

use. It is almost invariably laudatory and in such general terms as to be valueless. The other is *valuable just to the extent that the giver of it is a competent observer and is willing to state his full opinion.* A limiting element about such references is the fact that applicants are usually allowed to name their sources and thus to select only such as are likely to give a favorable report.[1] The names of former employers cannot be so selected, but it is possible for the applicant to avoid names of individuals in a company who might hold unfavorable opinions. Experience tells us that in most cases entirely frank and critical statements about applicants are given with hesitation.

As a matter of policy, most public employment officials have held that sending for references was not rightly a function of their office; that as careful selection as the interview can give is the extent of service which the employer may ask. The verification of statements as to past experience, and so on, has been looked upon as the employer's own responsibility. Partly for this reason and partly because of limited facilities, public offices in the United States with a few exceptions have not attempted to obtain references for applicants. The clerical work involved and particularly the necessity of despatching people to positions immediately, have made it impossible to apply to references and await the receipt of information. Evidently this proceeding is possible only in occupations where a few days' interval may be allowed to elapse between registration and referral. With professional and the higher grade of clerical workers, the time element is not quite so pressing and the policy of giving this extra service is necessary.

Reference statements are usually sought in writing, though use of the telephone is not infrequent. Employment offices which inquire in regard to all applicants use a regular form upon which to make the request. Such forms almost invariably provide space for the reply and are accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Paper in either of two sizes is used: either 8½ by 11 or 5½ by 8½ inches.

A classification of the items appearing upon such blank forms is

[1] It is recognized that every person has a right to a sympathetic judgment—to an expression regarding his abilities from someone who knows the potential man in him; but it is essential, nevertheless, that even from a sympathetic point of view such a statement should represent a conscientious effort to be accurate.

given below. Its only purpose is to present possible items; the advisability of using certain points is not indicated by the classification.

ITEMS APPEARING UPON BLANKS FOR SECURING REFERENCES

I. **Explanatory statement to person from whom information is sought** [1]
   1. Reason for request, with assurance that information will be used in best interest of future employers and of applicant
   2. **Name of person in regard to whom information is sought**
   3. **Occupation or type of work he has performed**
   4. Assurance that information given will be held as confidential, or a statement of the extent to which this will be true
   5. Reason for requesting an immediate reply

II. Definite information requested
   1. Questions asked of any persons interrogated:
      a. How long have you known this person?
      b. In what capacity or relationship have you known him?
      c. Do you consider him qualified for position he is seeking?
      d. What do you consider him best qualified for?
      e. What do you consider his greatest limitations or handicaps as an employe?
      f. To what extent does he possess the following characteristics?

      Note.—It is possible to select at this point any of the characteristics attributable to a human being. The following are simply illustrative; many others were used on the forms examined:
      (1) Executive ability; (2) good judgment; (3) tact; (4) reputable character; (5) personality; (6) leadership; (7) scholarship; (8) good personal appearance; (9) uniformly good health; (10) initiative; (11) self-control; (12) ability as a disciplinarian; (13) ability to get along with people; (14) reliability; (15) sense of responsibility, and so on
   2. Questions, in addition to those above, which are asked of former employers only:
      a. How long was he in your employ?
      b. In what capacity did he serve?

[1] As in previous cases, black faced type indicates items considered essential or most important.

c. What wages did he receive?
d. Why did he leave your employ?
e. Were his services satisfactory?
f. Would you be willing to re-employ him?

III. Request for any further information that will contribute to applicant's securing such a position as will be for both his and the employer's interests.

Reference Blanks

In drafting a form, brevity and conciseness must be the first aim. The use of more than one sheet of paper has proved unwise. Some very successful forms have simply set out the purpose of the inquiry and asked for a statement as to the character and all-round ability of the applicant. Others have specified the exact kind of information desired and have provided for a simple checking of answers or for grading the extent to which the applicant is judged to possess the characteristics named. Oftentimes the two methods are combined.

The extent to which the reply will be held confidential and the manner in which it will be used must be made clear. Sometimes the privilege of quoting the statement without disclosing the author is desired. The following pledge has often been made: "Under no circumstances will the information be shown to the applicant." Some forms provide a space separate from the main statement for additional information which is to be held absolutely confidential. In at least one case the space for this strictly confidential information was separated by a perforated line from the rest of the blank, thus indicating the office's intention of filing it by itself.

Another type of reference and one rarely used by public employment offices for other than day's workers is obtained by "following up" applicants who have been placed by the office and ascertaining the satisfaction these applicants have given, so that the information will be at hand. It is done by writing or telephoning to the employer.

III. ADEQUATE FORM FOR RECORDING DATA

The purpose of an applicant's registration blank might be fully stated as follows:

1. To suggest and to bring out definitely all the facts with regard to the applicant which it is necessary to know in order to determine, in his interest and in that of the employer, his capacity to fill a possible or an actual vacancy
2. Concisely to record these facts
3. Cumulatively to record the experience of the office with the applicant subsequent to registration; references, dates, results, renewals of application, and so on
4. Incidentally to create a source of statistics bearing on conditions of employment, wages, casual labor, "labor turnover," relation of education to occupation or earning power, nationalities in certain occupations, as well as statistics as to the efficiency of the office in placing applicants.

In the light of the discussion of employers' order forms, it is unnecessary to dwell on the above statement of purpose; the case is almost exactly parallel and, except for its specific application, much of that discussion is applicable to registration cards.

There are two types of registration forms: one designed for the applicant to fill out himself, and one to be filled out by the interviewer or by a registration clerk.[1] The first type can be mailed, thus enabling applicants to apply from a distance. The latter is invariably used within the office itself. Their purpose is identical in accomplishing the ends set forth above.

Content of Registration Form

The employment office is interested in finding each man a job, as well as in finding a man for each job. This requires a more complete and, therefore, less specialized and limited inquiry into an applicant's qualifications than a single employer has any reason to make. Selection on behalf of an employer is merely a process of elimination of all who do not conform to definite specifications; the form is calculated to bring out the presence or absence of those qualifications only.

Extent of Specialization

A public employment office must determine for what kind of job to consider a man, on the assumption that a job is to be found. For that reason the form can never be as specialized as can the applica-

[1] A discussion of the relative merits of these two methods of registration will be found on pages 264–267.

tion forms used by individual employers. Nevertheless, applicants do group themselves into particular fields in which their chief attainments lie and in which they almost exclusively seek employment, as, for instance, applicants for clerical, farm, domestic, mechanical, or educational work. The point is that in drafting forms it is not possible for a public office to adopt the same type and extent of specialization that employers can, but that, nevertheless, it is possible and necessary to use separate forms for such groups as those just named.

There is here the same relation between specialized and general forms that we saw in the preceding chapter. A single card may be designed to register a carpenter or a cook or a farmhand or a teacher as they come; or separate forms may be provided for each occupation, specifying in exactly applicable terms the questions that must be answered. In any case, the exact use of the card that is being drafted must be defined in advance and the items selected accordingly.

Data About Applicant

In the classification of data[1] which may be obtained in registering an applicant, we have printed in bold-face type those items that we consider essential. It would be impossible in any general way for us to make any more specific recommendations. The selection of items for a registration form involves exactly the same consideration as does the selection for an employer's order card discussed above.

Memoranda of Office Procedure

In addition to the items that appear upon a registration card which suggest the data needed concerning the person registered, the office must, for its own information, make certain notations in regard to the registration, such as the time of its receipt and its renewal from time to time. Below is presented a list of such notations as we found them on order cards, with those that we consider essential printed in bold faced type:

NOTATIONS IN REGARD TO THE REGISTRATION

1. **Date of:** (a) **original application;** (b) **renewals,** or "previously registered at . . . in . . . 19.."

[1] See page 321 ff.

DATA IN REGARD TO APPLICANTS

2. "Card number," or "serial number" (widely used)
3. **"Received by,"** or "signature of clerk"
4. **Notices sent to,** or correspondence with **applicant**
5. Occupational classification of the vacancies (according to a key list of occupations) which applicant desires and is judged competent to fill. This is a technical classification for filing and statistical purposes
6. Grading or rating of an applicant (rough judgment upon a standard agreed upon in the office on skill, appearance, and personality)
7. "Cross filed under . . ."
8. Special efforts to secure information or position for applicant
9. Method of registration—(a) by mail; (b) in person
10. Records of visits to applicants' homes, and so on
11. How applicant's past employments were obtained (employment office, at gate, want ad, and the like)
12. By whom directed to this office?

Record of Referrals to Employers and Results

The reverse side of the registration is everywhere used to record the positions to which the applicant in question has been referred and the result of his application to the employer. The items that have been used are as follows, those that we regard as essential again being printed in bold faced type:

RECORD OF REFERRALS AND THE RESULTS
(Action Record)

1. Order or serial number of employer to whom referred (widely used)
2. **Name of employer**
3. Address of employer
4. Occupation or type of vacancy to which referred (desirable but not essential)
5. Whether vacancy was casual, temporary, or permanent
6. **Date** and hour (or just date) **of referral**
7. Initials of interviewer making referral
8. **Result** (often indicated by code)
9. **Date on which information as to result was received and recorded**
10. Initials of clerk recording result
11. "Remarks." (Space should be left for remarks)
12. Wages received

Form and Arrangement of Registration Blank

Size and Shape

Among the forms examined, those designed for applicants to fill out and mail to the office are usually 8½ by 11 inches in size and printed on paper. When applicants who come to the office in person fill out their own blanks, cards, usually 8 by 5 inches, are sometimes substituted for the larger paper blank.

When mail applications are received on paper blanks it is usually necessary to transfer the data to a regular card form, so that it can easily be handled in the filing system.

The form designed to be filled out by the office staff has almost invariably been printed on cardboard. The two commonest sizes are 8 by 5 inches and 6 by 4 inches. Cards 5 by 3 inches have proved altogether inadequate. Another card 4 by 7 inches has been used in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, and Montreal, chiefly that it might be filed in a tub file. Ordinarily, filing cabinets do not accommodate this size, however, and it has not come into wide use.

Judging by experience and widest use, cards 8 by 5 inches and 6 by 4 inches meet more satisfactorily than any other the requirements of a registration form which must be handled continually and filed conveniently. Between the two it might be said that offices doing special work are likely to choose the larger card; offices whose work is general in character, the smaller. The criterion in any particular case will be the amount of writing space required and the number of items which must be accommodated. Of the forms examined, there were about an equal number of each. Inasmuch as the 6 by 4 inch card requires less filing space and is easier to handle, its inadequacy should be pretty well established before the larger card is decided upon. In other words, all the devices of economical drafting should be employed on a 6 by 4 inch card to see if it will serve.

Phrasing

When applicants are to fill out their own registration blanks it is necessary that the various questions be fully expressed and sufficient space provided for answers. Because interviewers are familiar with the form upon which they themselves register the facts about

an applicant, and the answers likely to be concisely expressed, the items on the cards designed for that purpose can be abbreviated. For this reason more space is necessary on the first type of form designed for applicants to fill out themselves than on those filled out by interviewers. In drafting forms this distinction between the two types should be clearly made. It has not always been.

Spacing of Items

Most important is the amount of space allotted for the answer to each question. This is to save space, but also to insure proper emphasis in the fullness with which questions are to be answered. Of particular importance is the space provided for the items "education, training, and experience." Most of the cards examined were faulty in this respect, often leaving just one line for information on the three subjects; sometimes providing space for the last employment only. *It would be impossible to overemphasize the necessity of providing adequate space for the recording of these facts.*

Sample Forms

The two forms reproduced on page 354 present between them some of the points that a good general registration card should embody; also some that should be avoided. The first one provides space for "work wanted" and for "second choice," and then devotes a considerable portion of the remaining surface to "experience." Under "work wanted" it is intended that the occupational or industrial classification of the kind of position wanted shall be inserted for convenience in filing, and for accuracy in compiling statistics; the technical term used is not, however, intended to convey the quality or the amount of ability that the applicant possesses. This is to be especially noted, because the greater portion of the registration cards examined provide only one space, usually one line, for "work wanted" and "experience" together; sometimes the term "occupation" is used to indicate both. In order to provide as much space as the first card does for "experience," the other items are crowded somewhat, but the emphasis is correct. Note on the second card the entire inadequacy of a single line each for the items "personality, education, language, experience."

Name | Nearest Telephone | Serial Number

Address | Age | Married / Single / Widower | Army / Navy

%

Work Wanted | Wages Wanted | Birth Place | First Papers / Second Papers / Alien | How Long in U.S. / " " " N.Y.

Second Choice | Wages Wanted | Dependents | Languages

Education: | Experience—(Continued) | Original Date

Renewals

Full Outline of Experience
No. of Months or Years in Each Trade

Last Two Employers and Addresses

Signature of Applicant

REGISTRATION CARD - FORM 1

GENERAL REGISTRATION CARD—USED IN A SOCIAL AGENCY IN NEW YORK CITY

Note the liberal amount of space allowed for the statements on education and experience, and also the requirement of the applicant's signature. Size (reduced here) is 6 by 4 inches.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

TELEPHONE | GROUP | OCCUPATION | GRADE | RECEIVED BY | APPLICATION NO.

NAME..... | AGE | MARRIED | RACE

ADDRESS ..... | SINGLE | WIDOWED | COUNTRY OF BIRTH

OCCUPATION | WAGES WANTED | UNION YES NO | NATURALIZED

WILL ALSO WORK AS | WAGES WANTED | TRANSPORTATION | APPLICATIONS DATE | LEAVE DISTRICT

LANGUAGES: SPEAK
READ
WRITE

PERSONALITY, HANDICAPS, ETC.

EDUCATION

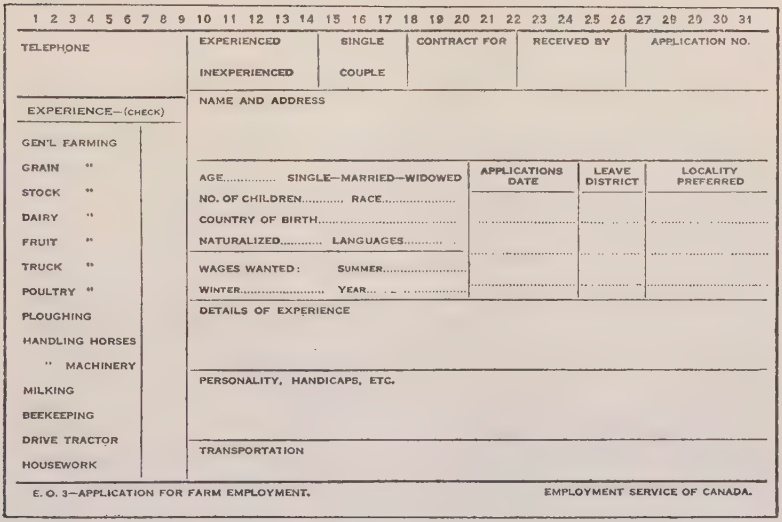
EXPERIENCE

E. O. I. APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT—MEN. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

REGISTRATION CARD—CANADIAN EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

This form is serviceable although the space does not appear to be used quite as fully as in the card above. Size (reduced here) is 6 by 4 inches.

The frame at the top of the second card is intended to include a few vital facts to be seen at a glance, and to make the filing classification instantly plain by the industrial and occupational section of the frame (1 and 2). It has not been used long enough for one to decide the value of its various parts. The putting of the technical classification, either in code or in writing, at the very top of the card is valuable. The first card would be improved if it had this


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

TELEPHONE

EXPERIENCED / INEXPERIENCED

SINGLE / COUPLE

CONTRACT FOR

RECEIVED BY

APPLICATION NO.

NAME AND ADDRESS

EXPERIENCE—(CHECK)

GEN'L FARMING
GRAIN "
STOCK "
DAIRY "
FRUIT "
TRUCK "
POULTRY "
PLOUGHING
HANDLING HORSES
" MACHINERY
MILKING
BEEKEEPING
DRIVE TRACTOR
HOUSEWORK

AGE..... SINGLE—MARRIED—WIDOWED
NO. OF CHILDREN..... RACE.....
COUNTRY OF BIRTH.....
NATURALIZED..... LANGUAGES.....
WAGES WANTED: SUMMER.....
WINTER..... YEAR.....

APPLICATIONS DATE

LEAVE DISTRICT

LOCALITY PREFERRED

DETAILS OF EXPERIENCE

PERSONALITY, HANDICAPS, ETC.

TRANSPORTATION

E. O. 3—APPLICATION FOR FARM EMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

SPECIAL REGISTRATION CARD—USED IN CANADA FOR FARM LABOR

A well-designed card. The contrast between it and the registration cards designed for general use, reproduced on page 354, indicates the difference in their purpose and function. Size (reduced here) is 6 by 4 inches.

feature. On the other hand, the second card, by putting the name farther down on the card makes alphabetical filing by name more difficult.

Note that the first card fails in not calling for the initials of the clerk or interviewer who registers the applicant. It does provide for the signature of the applicant, however.

A third form is reproduced on this page. It is shown solely for

the purpose of contrasting a general with a specialized card to be used by the same offices.

These forms are not models, because none of them conforms to all the principles here laid down. They are reproduced because they are as illustrative and suggestive as any "model" could be.

IV. FILING OF REGISTRATION CARDS

The problem of filing registration cards falls into three parts: the handling of (1) the so-called "active" cards of applicants who are available and awaiting notification of vacancies; (2) the cards of applicants who have been referred to positions and in regard to whom no report has been obtained; and (3) the inactive cards of applicants whose previous transaction with the office is completely closed but whose cards are being kept in readiness for future applications.

What is an "Active" Card?

Without question "active" was first used to denote those applicants who were still available for positions and whom upon notification it was still practicable to refer to suitable vacancies. The active file of registrations corresponded to the active file of employers' orders. Immediately arose the question of how long an application remains really active. Evidently the average period varies. In times of labor surplus it will be longer than in times of labor shortage, because the man who has applied will not be likely himself to find work easily or quickly. Again, the man already employed who desires a better position is likely to be available longer than the one who is unemployed and actively seeking work. The period varies for classes of applicants and for individuals.

In response to a demand for some means of estimating it there has been a tendency in both the United States and Canada to set an arbitrary limit of two weeks or a month as the time that a card must be considered active after application. This has been applied even to the cards of transients who could give no address and consequently could not have been summoned in any case! In general two reasons exist for establishing a period. In laying down the procedure for a system of offices, it seemed necessary to make a uniform regulation that, in the first place, would insure the

"active" file's being maintained, and in the second place its being regularly relieved of unavailable cards. The second reason is that the statistical system in vogue required a statement each day (or each week as the case might be) of the work-people estimated to be available on that day, not merely those who applied.

In order that the estimate should be uniform throughout a system of offices, it was necessary to set a definite period during which all unfilled or uncanceled applications would, *for statistical purposes,* be recorded as "unplaced applicants available." The difficulty is that this two-week or thirty-day file, rigidly kept for statistical purposes, was called the "active" file, and the variation in the period of availability of individual flesh-and-blood applicants was ignored. The upshot of the matter is that the statistical purpose of this file became confused with or else superseded its original purpose. *The ideal active file for local office use in summoning applicants is the one which is checked up continually by the interviewer and in which just those cards are kept which he believes from his background of experience to represent available applicants.* At any rate we prefer to use the term "active file" as representing such cards.

The Active File

The method of keeping the active file must conform to the main filing scheme of the office. Practically all offices keep a central file of applicants' names. This central file is composed of either (1) the original registration cards themselves, or (2) cross-index cards giving the name, address, occupational classification, and serial number of each applicant, thus making it possible to find the original card when it is filed elsewhere. The method of keeping the active file under each of these schemes is as follows:

1. *When all the original registration cards are kept in a central file* and may not be taken away for any length of time, the active file must be made up of temporary cards upon which abstracts of applicants' qualifications are made, filed by occupation. Of course the temporary card is simply a guide to the original, which must be inspected before any action can be taken. If the applicant has more than one occupation a separate temporary card is made for each. As soon as the application is filled, or canceled, or adjudged no longer available, these temporary cards are destroyed. A variation from this is the placing of the temporary card in the central file,

allowing the original registration card to go to the interviewer's desk. Thus the central file is complete because the temporary card indicates exactly where the original is. When the original is returned the temporary card is destroyed.

2. *When the central file is composed of permanent cross-index cards of applicants' names*, the original registration cards can be filed occupationally on the interview desk. The cross-index card indicates under what classification it will be found.

Both of these schemes of filing registration cards with their corollary methods for the active file are feasible, and they seem to have been used to about an equal extent. The second scheme seems less likely to cause errors because the file of cross-index cards is never disturbed. It is consulted but the cards are not taken out; once filed they remain where they belong. When the only complete file is one alphabetically arranged, from which cards are being taken and then replaced, as they are in the first scheme, error is almost certain; a card once lost will not be missed because there is no check.

"Referred But Not Heard From" Cards

When a referral has been made the registration card can be (1) attached to the order card with a clip or rubber band, or (2) it can be entirely separated from the order card (the fact of the referral having been properly noted). When attached to the order card the two are held on the interviewer's desk until the report is obtained. When separated from the order card it may be placed in a "pending file," which contains only registration cards on whose referrals reports have not been received, or it may be placed in the large central file itself. In either case it is instantly available if the applicant returns unplaced or inquiry is made of the employer. By keeping a "pending file" which is inspected weekly for cards that remain in it over one week, it is possible to see that all results of referrals are checked on registration cards as well as on order cards.

Inactive Cards

The inactive file contains all registration cards which are not active and are not being held pending the result of a referral. If the central filing scheme of the office is an alphabetical file of the registration cards themselves, the inactive cards will of course be

the backbone of that file. If, however, the central alphabetical name file is made up of cross-index cards according to the second scheme described above, the inactive registration cards themselves may be filed in one of two or three ways. The method used in the New York State Bureau and in some offices in Ohio is to file these cards by serial number. The advantage of this combination of cross-index name file and numerical arrangement of registration cards is that possibility of error in filing, with consequent loss of cards, is reduced to a minimum in both cases. The fact that the cross-index cards are merely consulted in their places and not removed has already been explained.[1] New cards can always be put in at the end of the day by an experienced file clerk. The file of registration cards themselves is least likely to error if the arrangement is by number. It is very easy when working under pressure to file cards incorrectly in a big alphabetical name file; and the interviewers or assistants who use it may be excellent at their own work but very careless or inexpert in replacing cards. In a file arranged by numbers, cards are less likely to become misplaced, and errors are more easily detected when once made.

Another possible filing of the registration cards is by occupations, thus making it instantly possible to inspect the records of all the plumbers or day's workers or chemists who have ever registered at the office. The cross-index file always directs the searcher to the proper occupational classification for each card. If this method is followed the cards may be arranged under each occupation by number, or alphabetically by name, preferably by number. This occupational filing of the inactive cards has not been widely practised, and that it would be of more than theoretical value is yet to be demonstrated.

Whether past applicants whose registrations have become inactive and who are presumably employed should be approached by the employment office is an important question of policy. Such an attempt was made in one large office during the war. Thousands of inquiries in one occupation were sent out and less than one per cent of those addressed were got for new jobs; but a storm of criticism was aroused from employers who accused the office of

[1] Punched cards with a retaining rod of the kind used in library card catalogues will insure this.

stealing their labor! However, as a filing method the occupational arrangement is entirely workable, although a little more open to error than the straight numerical file.

Cross-Index Card

On page 361 is reproduced a satisfactory cross-index card. Note that name, occupation, and number are all on the first line so that the card may be easily filed under any of them. It may be 6 by 4 inches or 5 by 3 inches, preferably the former.

Elimination of Registration Cards After a Period of Years

After an office has been in operation for some time and the inactive file has steadily accumulated new cards, the question of discarding records which have not been renewed within a certain time comes up and three reasons for doing so are given:

1. Limitation of filing facilities and space
2. Difficulty of using an unnecessarily large file
3. Doubt as to the value of retaining records indefinitely when no renewal is made; many applicants will have moved out of the district or were transients in the first place, and the record itself becomes worthless or out of date after a time.

The Committee on Standardization of the American Association of Public Employment Offices, reporting in 1917, made the following recommendation on this point:

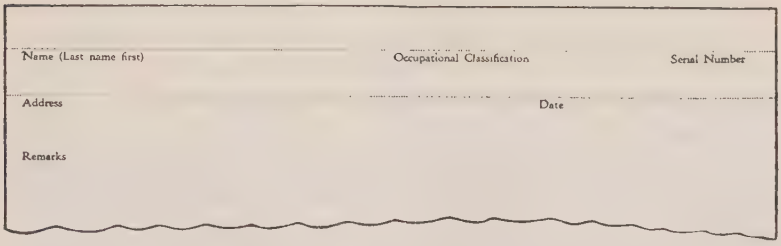
Resolved, That at the close of each calendar year the cards of all applicants for positions who have not renewed their applications or been referred to positions during the two full calendar years preceding shall be eliminated permanently from the files. If an eliminated card is consulted for any purpose it shall in no case be restored to the files or used in lieu of a new application card, and any applicant whose card has been eliminated shall, if again making application, be treated as a new applicant and registered accordingly on a new card.[1]

[1] The committee proceeds to illustrate its recommendation thus:

"Suppose it is decided to begin the elimination of the cards from the files on January 1, 1918. Elimination should be made only of the cards of those applicants who have had no dealings with the bureau either by original registration, renewal, or reference to a position for at least two full calendar years preceding January 1, 1918. Suppose Mr. A. registered January 2, 1916, and has since had no dealings

The office in Columbus, Ohio, was the only one which we discovered that had applied the above rule over a period of years. Most of the offices investigated had not eliminated their old cards, either because the office was so new that the problem had not arisen or because the limits of their filing facilities had not been reached. Others had eliminated all their old cards, or rather had begun their file all over again quite arbitrarily at the beginning of a new administration or a new system of record keeping.

If offices are to go on year after year, some rule with the intent of that recommended by the committee on standardization will be



CROSS INDEX FOR REGISTRATION FILE

Designed for temporary use to replace the original registration card and to indicate its whereabouts when that card has been removed from the file. Size (reduced here) is 6 by 4 inches.

necessary. This regulation has the advantage of uniformity for all offices, thus guaranteeing a uniformity of statistics. However, whether local employment needs will be best served by such rigidity in the name of uniformity is a question that has not yet been answered. In any case a definite rule of elimination, whether the period be two, five or ten years, should be adopted. If local

with the office. His card should not be eliminated until the next day of elimination comes, namely, January 1, 1919. The resolution as adopted provides for the elimination of the cards of applicants who have had no dealings with the employment office for a period of at least two full calendar years and less than three full calendar years. What is true of new registrations is equally true of renewals. Any applicant who either registers, renews his registration, or is sent out to employment subsequent to January 1, 1916, should have his card retained in the files until January 1, 1919. That means that on January 1, 1918, registration and renewal cards will be eliminated running back to and including January 2, 1915."

discretion is allowed as to the period, a uniform rule for all offices, regardless of the elimination period, should require that applicants who have not renewed their old application card for two calendar years (or such other period as may be decided on) should be recorded for statistical purposes on the daily report as new registrations.

May Eliminated Cards Be Used Again?

The question as to the use of eliminated cards may be debated. Certain advocates of the public employment office have held that it should "keep a permanent work record of each worker." This two-year elimination rule means that, practically, eliminated cards would not be consulted and that such a "permanent record" would not be used. Whether after a lapse of two years it is better to disregard the old record and begin afresh cannot be arbitrarily answered.

The term "dead file" has sometimes been used synonymously with "inactive file," but the report quoted above applies the term solely to the file of eliminated cards and the term is so used in this study.[1]

[1] The definition supplied by the Committee on Standardization is as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the dead files shall contain only employers' and employes' record cards and verification cards of positions filled which have been in disuse for two previous calendar years but which may have to be preserved as public records."

CHAPTER XX

THE PROCESS OF INTERVIEWING AND REFERRING APPLICANTS[1]

I. THE INTERVIEW

THE greater part of the time of the employment office is spent in dealing with applicants for work. Although employers' orders are equally important, it is on the selection of suitable applicants to fill those orders that the process naturally focuses.

When an applicant asks to be told of a job the office must find out what he wants, then what he can do, and lastly it must determine whether his qualifications and desires fit him for any specific vacancies of which it has a record.

The Personal Factor in Interviewing: Reception of Applicants

If the object of an employment office is to give service, the cornerstone of that service must rest upon courtesy and recognition of each applicant's individuality. Not only must this be a rule, but it must be made patent. At no part of an applicant's contact with the office is this more important than in his first impression as he enters; it is a matter of atmosphere and of personal attention to his wants. All employment workers are agreed that if it is not possible to register or interview applicants as fast as they enter the office, that some form of immediate recognition should be provided.

The manner of this reception will differ with the type and size of office. For laborers and skilled mechanics a clerk who goes out on the floor and greets applicants as they enter, who directs them to the proper registration or interview desk and explains away or laughs away any momentary inconvenience due to the crowd or the necessity of waiting, has been found invaluable as a

[1] See page 258 for definition of interview and referral.

securer of goodwill. For professional or clerical workers a desk easily accessible from the entrance and marked "Information" may serve the same purpose. The layout of the building and the relation of street to entrance, of entrance to waiting room, and of waiting room to interview desk determine in part the kind of reception that is needed. The important thing is that applicants shall not come in, stand around helplessly on the outskirts of a crowd, and then go out with the hopeless feeling that such a situation engenders. A man will more willingly wait an hour for an interview if he has been met, asked what he wants, and had it explained that "Mr. So-and-So has several jobs for painters and will be able to see you in a little while—that desk over there," than he will hang around twenty minutes if he has to stand in a jam of men without any idea how soon his turn will come. Indeed, it is the capable, self-reliant man who will be disgusted first by such conditions.

Of course the end is not attained by mechanically instituting a reception clerk. It is the creation of an atmosphere, a spirit of friendliness which recognizes the personality of each man and convinces him that every effort is being made to serve him, that is wanted. A couple of notable instances of success in this direction are in mind. An office for men on the Bowery in New York had a superintendent who made it his business to mingle with the applicants at the door. From that point he gave true superintendence to every transaction in the office. Applicants were greeted cordially and passed on to the proper interviewer; on their way out they were greeted with, "Did you get that job all right, Jack? . . . Tough luck, but, say, the employment man from the Terry Construction Company will be here tomorrow; I've just got a telegram from him." It took a vast deal of personal force and supervising energy, but it got results. It maintained discipline and good feeling. Moreover, no applicant went out disgruntled without its being noticed, and if there was any real complaint against the office the superintendent straightened out the matter at once.

In the women's division of another office in New York City a registration desk was placed directly by the entrance. A tactful reception clerk was put in charge. Every applicant who came in stopped there a moment and was given a little round ticket with a

number upon it. The number represented that applicant's turn at the proper interview desk. The system was copied doubtless from the immemorial practice employed by the barber shop on Saturday night! The reception clerk would know how many people were waiting for a certain interviewer and could say, "There are only six or eight people waiting for Miss So-and-So ahead of you. Won't you take a chair over there?" A different colored ticket was used for each interviewer. The result was that each applicant was courteously, even when briefly, addressed the moment she came in and was assured by a system that was not only fair, but patently fair, of her proper turn. Furthermore, the layout made it possible for waiting applicants to see the interviewers at work. The desirability of this last may be questioned by some, but in this office it did assure applicants, visibly, of the diligence of the office staff. The result of the whole plan was apparent in the attitude and goodwill of applicants.

The above instances are not cited as recommendations to be indiscriminately copied in any detail, but they are illustrations of what may be done to put applicants immediately *en rapport* with the office and its staff. The methods used must conform to the building, the type of applicant, and to the personality of the office force in each case, but at least some thoughtful plan should be followed. Workers must not be allowed to stand around a half hour and wander out again without having seen anyone. Far more important even than the industrial loss due to their being unplaced is the ill-will or at least indifference toward the office which they carry away and spread. Inadequate budgets and small staffs have been excuses with which we must sympathize, but lack of facilities do not lessen the need of working out a satisfactory reception method. Offices so handicapped are the first to grant the point.

Needless to say, this same courtesy must be continued at each step of the process. Each person must be treated as an individual, not as one of a gang. There are differences in men, and each group of men will require the kind of treatment which the individuals in it understand; but the principle that tact, courtesy, and desire to serve should be shown each applicant is fundamental.

Importance of a Personal Interview

Practically all the satisfactory public employment work in this country has come about as the result of a personal application at the office and an interview. Mail applications have in general proved very unsatisfactory; in England they are not accepted from persons living within three miles of an exchange. The necessity of depending on the mails in certain cases, as for teachers, does not change its unsatisfactory character. To give the office an opportunity to "size up" the applicants, and to give the applicant an opportunity to understand the conditions connected with the vacancy in question, a personal interview is necessary. This is true in the first place because the information a person puts on an application form about himself is never complete. Certain employment offices have based their procedure upon the belief that an application form fully made out by the applicant gives sufficient information for an office to make referrals. Indeed, in these offices personal interviews were forbidden on the theory that the clerk might either be charmed by the personality of a wily applicant or prejudiced by the unfortunate mannerisms of a first-class worker! An examination of hundreds of application blanks filled out by army officers, by highly trained executives, and by engineers, who, in accordance with this rule, had not been given an interview, showed the utter futility of the method. Most were incomplete, many were self-laudatory, many others so modest as to be meaningless. Few gave any real conception of the writer's capacity or personality.

Every experienced employment worker from coast to coast who was interviewed condemned so impersonal and machine-like a method. The engagement of people for work is a very personal thing, which cannot be carried on by "matching" a set of cold specifications against an equally colorless statement of qualifications. As already suggested, the self-written application is almost never complete enough to answer all the questions raised by the specifications of a vacancy. This is true even of technical qualifications. The mere statement of the kind of work upon which a person has been engaged does not always convey an accurate

impression of the responsibility he may have borne or the value of the experience gained.

In addition to technical qualifications there is the whole problem of judging "personality." It is impossible to define or limit the qualifications which an employer may consciously or unconsciously require under this head. They include traits which are variously based upon mental, moral, and physical attainments. Again, it is quite fruitless to try to estimate what proportion of positions have among their requirements some qualities that would fall under the term personality. That it is of the greatest importance in the selection of employes every employer and employment office worker knows. Each also knows that that subtle elusive possession that we call personality cannot be estimated without an interview. To what extent even an interview may succeed we will consider later, but the selection of employes without it, save for a very restricted type of positions, is like choosing people by lot.

The above should be qualified for any occupations where the work is so mechanical that personal relationships are reduced to a minimum, and to some extent for occupations like teaching, where time permits of rather elaborate investigation of references.

In some cases and some occupations it may be impossible always to secure an interview, but it is certainly indisputable that employment technique has not created a substitute for it in judging personality.

Privacy of Interview Essential

The fundamental principle of the interview itself is that it should be private. Because so many of the public offices in the United States started as mere hangouts for unskilled and casual labor, and because so many of the successful fee-charging agencies handling laborers did their business over a counter, the use of the counter for interviewing is very general. The trouble with it is that other applicants can crowd up behind the person interviewed and overhear the conversation; and many are the jobs that have been "stolen" by applicants who thus overheard an employer's name and rushed out to get there ahead of the man referred by the office. At the same time, any personal or intimate relationship between interviewer and applicant is made impossible. Boasting

as to ability and untruths as to former employers are stimulated by the situation. The truly conscientious applicant is likely to draw back into himself and the interviewer to learn little. For certain kinds of workers, such as railroad and harvest laborers, where one must meet several at once and the personal element enters to a less degree, the counter helps one to handle a number of applications with speed. But the great field of employment work is in occupations where the personal element is most important, and where, consequently, the interviewer must deal with people singly and almost confidentially.

If in the physical layout of the office and the handling of applicants others can overhear what is said, this confidential relationship between interviewer and applicant is destroyed. *Consequently, as a first requirement of employment procedure, a private interview should be given each person;* whether it be in a private office with the door closed, at a desk in the open room but away from other applicants, or at a counter which only one applicant may approach at a time is relatively immaterial.

The Significance and General Problem of the Interview

The general interview which we are now considering is, from the point of view of the office, a problem of dealing with people. It is the same problem that the visiting nurse, the salesman, or the reporter must master. While in these callings there are special ends to be attained and a psychological attitude peculiar to each, such is the case, too, in an employment office. But fundamental to it all is an ability to deal with people, or rather to deal with different persons individually. Because this ability is not peculiarly required in employment offices, and because it involves a study in human behavior much broader than our immediate topic, it is impossible in this discussion to analyze it fully or to attempt to explain how it may be attained.

Fundamental to the interviewing of applicants is an understanding of their desires, their needs, and broadly speaking, their attitude. The mentality and past experience of each person make him an individual problem.

Applicant's Point of View

If there is any attitude toward the interview held in common by applicants it is a desire to know about all the jobs the office has to offer, and themselves to select the one or ones which seem the most desirable. Each applicant wants to be the judge as to his own eligibility for a position and merely desires to have the various vacancies on hand explained to him that he may choose. He has small faith that anyone else will estimate his qualifications at what, in his eyes, is their true value. A job is so important and so personal that he will not willingly delegate the power of choice to anyone. This attitude is often a combination of fear of injustice and of a selfish desire for a chance to get the best job, regardless of expert opinion as to whether he could hold it and the rights of other applicants who may be better qualified.

What the Employer Wants

If each employer had a personal representative in the office, interviewers could comply with the applicants' desire by letting them go from one representative to another until they had accepted positions. In such a case each applicant and each employer, in accordance with the doctrine of *laissez faire*, would be in a position to look out for himself. Since representation of the employer is out of the question, the interviewer must act as his agent. The extent to which each desires the selection of candidates carried will vary. One employer wishes to have several sent for his inspection, another a single competent one only; in the latter's eyes the purpose of an employment office is to save him time and effort. In any case, however, there is a large amount of selection for the employment office interviewer, even if four candidates are suggested for a single position.

What the employer desires is the person best qualified for his vacancy. He is just as insistent on this as is the applicant to have offered him the best job. Moreover, it is to his financial interest to get that best qualified person at as low a wage as possible, regardless of the fact that other employers might be willing to pay a higher rate.

The Interviewer's Position

The interviewer in a public employment office thus finds himself between two interests that are not identical. By our definition his function is to place candidates: who are likely (1) to be satisfied with the conditions of employment which they will find, and (2) to satisfy the requirements of the employer. He must at the same time be the employer's agent and the applicant's agent.

Moreover, he is the agent of a number of employers to all of whom he owes an equal duty. This fact limits his endeavor in so far as competition for labor is a factor. It does not mean that he cannot perform the function of serving the interest of each, for one of the reasons for the establishment of a central employment office is to eliminate destructive cut-throat competition. But it does mean that the basis of his service to each will need to be accepted as fair and equitable by all whose interests are involved in this pooling of demands. Again, as an agent of the applicant the situation is parallel.

In so far as there is an inherent difference of interest between the employer and the applicant in the employment process, amounting in some aspects to an antagonism of interests, just so far must the function of the interviewer become a judicial one rather than merely that of an agent or advocate of either party. A public employment office is thus essentially different from the recruiting agencies established by employers or from the fee-charging agencies which are but variations of the same thing; in the impartial discharge of its judicial function it is believed to give a service to its clients far superior to the unregulated competition of the private agencies.

Fundamentals of a "Service" Organization

Between applicants, in their attitude to the office and in their manner of making their wants known, there is all the difference in the world. Lack of self-confidence, hesitancy in a new situation, and ignorance of the rules of the office combine in one type to present the interviewer with a problem of instilling the applicant with confidence in himself and in the office. At the other extreme is the perfectly poised, bombastic individual who has had every

job in the United States worth having, has three employers awaiting his decision, and has "just come in to look things over." He doesn't "really expect you've got anything, you know." Then there is the man who is "down on his luck" and discouraged at being out of work. Even to the self-laudatory client the interviewer must show courtesy, tact, and sympathy. This policy is not confined to employment service; in department stores it appears in the phrase, "the customer is always right." Neither in department stores nor in employment offices is the customer always right, but the policy of recognizing the other fellow's point of view is fundamental to a service organization.

Selection. The first phase of interviewing and selection is that of general inquiry. What the applicant wants, how well he is fitted to do it, and whether any other occupations would be acceptable to him are gone into and the facts noted upon a registration card. In the second phase the active file of employers' orders is examined and discussed in order to find out whether the applicant possesses the specific qualifications required by certain actual vacancies and whether he will accept the conditions of employment. The interview is concluded by the decision to send him to an employer, to ask him to await notification of further positions, or to call again.

Because a great deal of the literature about "selection of workers" has emphasized the process of the elimination of applicants who are not suitable for specific jobs, it is well to emphasize that in a public employment office types of positions available are not so limited as in single establishments, and consequently the inquiry as to a man's qualifications must aim to be complete. The interviewer must learn not only a man's suitability for a certain job, but his qualification for any other which later may be available.

Of the experimentation, scientific and otherwise, that has been carried on in regard to the selection of workers, the greater part of it is in a stage which Henry C. Link would compare to the "home remedies" stage of medicine and surgery. It is a function that is vitally important to industry and one on which a great deal of earnest effort is being put. At the same time there is a great deal of quackery and pseudo science being exercised to exploit employment needs.

This selection of human material for various occupations and the complementary, if not more important, selection of occupations for human beings is outside our present field of study. It is an important piece of research in itself, and has an important bearing upon the whole field of education and the determination of careers. Professor H. L. Hollingworth, in his Vocational Psychology,[1] traces the progress that has been made in attempting to understand the capabilities and limitations of people for specific types of work, and offers helpful suggestions. Dr. Link has made a notable contribution to the subject in his Employment Psychology. In addition to a description of the scientific technique of testing the capacity of workers he presents a common-sense view of selection when it must be made without the aid of that technique. While written from the point of view of industry itself and of the employment department of an industrial establishment, almost everything he says in Parts II and IV of his book is of interest to the interviewer in a public employment office.

Nor is the development of detailed scientific tests the field of the public employment office. As Dr. Link makes clear, such tests require standardized conditions and opportunity for weighing minutely the results of the tests, and all this in regard to jobs that have been analyzed completely. The public employment office must deal with large numbers of positions and applicants, roughly assorting them together. Speed is essential. The development of psychological tests may ultimately make possible their application in public bureaus, but such a stage of development has in no sense been reached.

No system or method of character analysis has yet produced results which justify its adoption or even suggest its trial in a public employment office. This is not to be taken as decrying research in the field, but as a warning against any so-called "standard systems" for rating individuals which appeal to the imagination because of the greatness of the need for something of the kind, rather than because of their demonstrated success.

[1] Hollingworth, H. L.: Vocational Psychology, its Problems and Methods. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1916.

Some Special Methods and Forms Used

In connection with the process of registering and interviewing, there are a few procedures in connection with which special forms are used.

Follow-up to Determine Whether Applicant Still Wants Job

Many offices have adopted the practice of notifying applicants, especially skilled and professional workers, when their applications are about to expire and asking whether they want them continued. This notification and request have been conveyed in personal and in form letters, and on single or return postcards. Often the questions are arranged in a series of statements and the applicant checks those that express his situation, thus: "I have secured employment elsewhere," "I wish my application kept on file," "My address now is . . ." and so on. The following warning is usually given: "If we do not receive a reply from you we shall understand that you wish your name taken from our active list." The injustice that is done to other applicants and to employers, when immediate response is not sent, is also made clear in the notice.

The device of giving the applicant at the time of registration a card or slip upon which to report to the office that he has secured a position, has been illustrated by the so-called "registration card" of the English Employment Exchange. An employment office for women in Boston gives applicants a series of six slips, one to be mailed each month until a position is secured. This is reported to work satisfactorily.

Notice Calling Applicant to Office for Position

For new orders it is the practice in most public employment offices to give applicants who are in the office first consideration—a practice made perfectly clear in the rules, applicants being urged to apply every day in person. The purpose is to give the quickest possible service to the employer. *When there are no suitable applicants in the office, the active file is searched for workers and a message dispatched to them.* Telephone, telegraph, or mail is used, depending upon the urgency of the case, asking the applicant to call at the office immediately or at a stated time. The mail form has usually

been a postcard, the phraseology in some cases being quite peremptory, in others deferential, but these ideas were expressed:

> "Please call at this office immediately (or at . . . o'clock on . . .) in reference to a position as . . . Please bring this card with you and ask for Mr. . . . This is not a promise of employment but an opportunity for you to be considered for a definite position. If we do not hear from you (by a definite time) we shall assume that you have secured a position and remove your application from our active file."

In some cases, especially for out-of-town and highly trained applicants, it is very desirable to include a rather complete statement of the type of position offered, and the salary, without divulging the employer's name. The applicant can decide at once whether he wishes to know more about the job. A large sheet 8½ by 11 inches is best for this purpose because it provides space on which to describe the position. It must be enclosed in an envelope to keep the details confidential.

Another type of notification is used by offices for teachers. In their case it is often desirable to submit their application with accompanying data (often including a picture) to the employer. Instead of being invited to come to the office the applicant is then informed that his papers of qualification have been forwarded "to Mr. Blank, Superintendent of Schools in Coleville," with a statement of the requirements of the position and the suggestion that he apply personally to Mr. Blank at once.

Somewhat similar to this request to apply directly to the employer is the special card sent to day's workers whose competency has been established and the nature of whose work makes their continued application during office hours for further positions difficult. It reads as follows:

"Dear Madam:

> "Will you kindly report for work at . . . on . . . If for any reason you are unable to do this, please telephone this office at once."

Great emphasis is always placed upon the necessity for an immediate reply to the message. Appeals to the sense of justice in behalf of other applicants, appeals for mutual co-operation that will result in benefit to the applicant himself, suggestion that delay

will imperil chances of getting a position, and even threats that breaking this office rule will result in refusal of future service, have all been used. In some cases a return postcard is supplied for use by the applicant in order to notify the office that she had gone to work.

Identification Card

In a few offices where a great many casual workers renewed their applications day after day, some means of cutting down the time taken was sought, particularly where the central filing scheme of registration cards consisted of a cross-index file of names and a numerical arrangement of the registration cards themselves. John Smith's renewal meant a search in the cross-index file under Smith, the determination of which John Smith this was, a noting of his serial number, and then a delve into the numerical file of registration cards to get card No. 99,678. Too much time was being spent in renewing the "regulars."

At first an attempt was made thus: "Here, John, your number is 99,678. Can't you remember that and give it to me next time you come in?" Later the scheme of giving a card bearing his number to each applicant and asking him to present it for renewal was hit upon. Cleveland seems to have been the originator of it. Printed forms, 4 by 2¼ inches in size containing the name of the bureau as well as the name, number, and occupation of the applicant, were used at first. But upon the discovery that applicants were presenting this card to employers as though it were an introduction from the bureau, and also using it to escape the rigor of municipal anti-loafing ordinances, a perfectly plain card of the same size without the name of the office was substituted. Upon it was the admonition: "Keep this card; remember this number." The method of its use is this: A man presents his card to the registration clerk who takes it, goes immediately to the numerical file, draws the registration card of corresponding number, places the day's date upon both the registration card and the "identification card," and returns the latter to its owner. Incidentally the clerk also notes on the card beside the date, the number of the interviewer whom the man should see on that day.

This identification card has gained no wide use. The feeling seems to be that it savors too much of red tape and that appli-

cants of other than the day's worker type would not carry it. This last argument is vigorously denied by the originators of the scheme. It is noteworthy, however, that in Chicago, the labor and day's worker office on Jefferson Street at the time of this investigation was using this card, but that the office for skilled men on North Dearborn Street under the same direction was not. So far as ascertainable the card has been used by a women's department in one office only—in the day's work section of the state office in Brooklyn.

Registration Card as Used in England

The employment exchanges of England use a special form which, like our identification card, is given to each applicant at the time of registration. It is called a "registration card" but has no counterpart in either Canada or the United States,[1] and the term should not be confused with the American card of the same name. It is in the form of a postcard addressed to the Exchange, and is a man's material evidence that he has registered at the Exchange and on the date indicated. A summary of its items on the reverse of the side addressed to the Exchange may be listed thus:

1. Name and registration number of applicant.
2. Trade and trade classification number of applicant.
3. The following rules for applicant: "If you obtain work—either through the Employment Exchange or otherwise—you should fill in this card and post it at once to the Exchange. No stamp is needed."
   "Until you obtain work you are advised to call *daily;* you must in any case present this card at the Employment Exchange every . . . in order to remain on the register."
   "N. B. Change of address should be notified at once to the Employment Exchange."
   Card is "not transferrable."
4. Space for applicant to report to the Exchange in case he gets work, as indicated in the rules given above, providing for "address . . . date . . . I have obtained employment with . . . signed . . ."
5. Notices: "Registration card only;" and "Applicants are not to be taken as sent by the Exchange unless they produce an introduction card also."

[1] The reason probably is that this blank has to do not only with employment office work but also with the administration of unemployment insurance in England.

The registration card is intended:

1. To inform the workman of the general conditions which he must observe as to:
   (a) Renewing his application.
   (b) Returning his card when the work is obtained.
   (c) Notifying of any change of address.
2. To remind him of the day on which he must renew his application if he wishes to remain on the register.
3. To enable a workman who has obtained work, whether through the Exchange or otherwise to inform the Exchange that he is now in employment.
4. In special circumstances to serve as evidence of the engagement of a workman sent by the Exchange.[1]

II. REFERRAL

Introduction Card

When in this country the interviewer has satisfied himself as to the applicant's qualifications for a particular vacancy and has decided to make a referral he writes an "introduction card" which serves three important uses:

1. As direction, where and to whom to apply
2. As applicant's credentials from office to employer
3. As a reminder and convenient medium for report to office on the result of referral.[2]

In this connection, upwards of 100 different introduction card forms which have been used and tested by as many employment offices or systems were examined and the various types of items classified. As in the classification of other forms, an effort has been made in the interests of completeness to include all types of data represented. No one card included all of the types listed. Many of the items are of doubtful value. Those which we regard as very important, in most cases essential, are indicated in black faced type. The complete classification is as follows:

[1] Section 20 of Confidential "Code of General Instructions to Divisional Offices and Employment Exchange Staff: Vol. I, Registration and Placing of Applicants for Employment; E. D. 399."

[2] It is in the form of a postcard.

TYPES OF ITEMS WHICH HAVE APPEARED ON INTRODUCTION CARDS

I. **INFORMATION FOR APPLICANT**

1. **Name, address** and (rarely) telephone number **of employer**
2. Name (and address if different from above) of hiring officer or department
3. Directions as to streets, car lines or railways.

II. **MESSAGE TO EMPLOYER INTRODUCING APPLICANT**

1. **Name of applicant**
2. Vacancy sought
3. Date on which order was lodged with office, to identify vacancy (only occasionally used)
4. Signature of applicant with space for counter-signature in presence of employer for identification (rare)
5. Statement as to whether references have been investigated (only occasional)
6. Qualifications of applicant, especially when references have been investigated (rare generally, but necessary for teachers for instance)
7. **Date** and hour **referred from office.**

III. **FACTS ABOUT VACANCY**

1. Rate of pay
2. Transportation arrangements, agreement as to fare, etc.
3. Probable duration of vacancy.

IV. **REQUEST THAT CARD BE SIGNED AND RETURNED WITH RESULT OF REFERRAL INDICATED**

1. Questions, when request is addressed to employer:
   a. **Have you hired applicant?**
   b. When does he begin to work?
   c. At what rate of pay does he begin?
   d. If not hired, why?
   e. **Is applicant satisfactory? . . . Remarks**
   f. **Signature** (and sometimes address).
2. Questions when request is addressed to applicant (rare)
   a. Have you been engaged by above employer?
   b. When do you begin work?
   c. At what rate of pay?
   d. If not engaged, why?
   e. Remarks:
   f. Signature (and sometimes address).

V. **OFFER OF FURTHER SERVICE TO EMPLOYER, SUCH AS "DO YOU NEED OTHER HELP?"** Offer to send other applicants if this one is unsatisfactory, and so on.

VI. **FACTS ABOUT OFFICE**

1. **Full title, address and telephone number of office**
2. Name of superintendent or his representative in the office
3. "Service without charge or fee"
4. Rules of office
5. General "publicity" material about the activities of office (used very little in most recent cards).

VII. **NOTATIONS FOR CONVENIENCE OF OFFICE**

1. Serial number of applicant's registration card
2. Serial number of employer's order (or of employer if that system is used)
3. Initials of interviewer making referral, if identity is not evident otherwise.

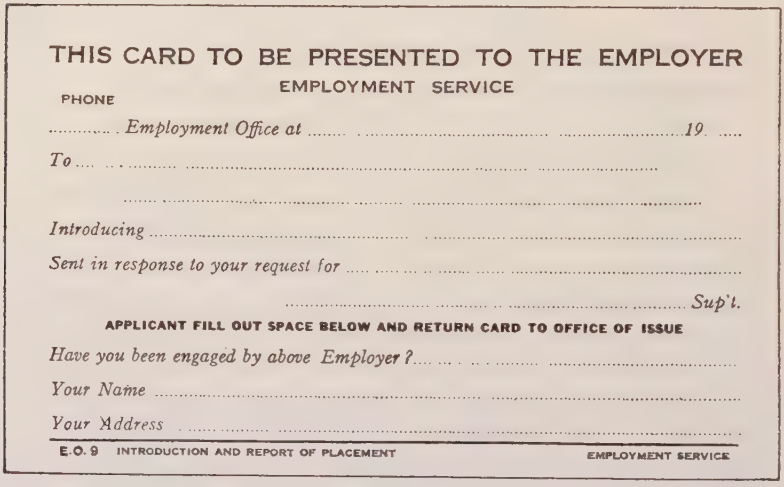
Practically all introduction cards which have been used recently have been of postcard size on the face of which was printed, as on a return postal, the address of the exchange. Where possible they have been returnable without postage charge to the employer. Large blank forms printed on paper for use in cases of teachers or nurses, and to be returned in an envelope, have already been noted. In general, however, the postcard size, which simply identifies the bearer and explains his purpose in applying, has been found sufficient and most convenient.

The request that the result of the application be indicated in a space provided and that the card be signed and returned to the office is almost universally directed to the employer. The notable exception is form E.O. 9 of the Employment Service of Canada, which directs the request to the applicant. While no actual comparison of the results of the two methods has been made, opinion concedes that the employer is more likely to mail the card.

A decided difference of opinion exists as to whether the wages or rate of pay expected should be placed upon the introduction card. The United States Employment Service, after its experience under the Immigration Service of sending immigrants all over the country, had the rate of pay placed on the card for the

purpose of protecting the applicant. Some local officers claimed that this had been a means of "stabilizing wages," and cited instances of men having been defrauded before the practice of putting wages on the card was started. These instances were almost exclusively confined to unskilled or low-class jobs.

On the other hand, the Massachusetts state offices and indeed most of New England, along with the Employment Service of



THIS CARD TO BE PRESENTED TO THE EMPLOYER

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

PHONE

..... *Employment Office at* .... *19* .....

To .....

.....

Introducing .....

Sent in response to your request for .....

..... *Sup't.*

APPLICANT FILL OUT SPACE BELOW AND RETURN CARD TO OFFICE OF ISSUE

Have you been engaged by above Employer? .....

Your Name .....

Your Address .....

E.O. 9 INTRODUCTION AND REPORT OF PLACEMENT EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

INTRODUCTION CARD—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA. AN EARLY FORM

Note that the applicant is to show the card to the employer, and then to fill out the last three lines and mail it to the employment office. To have an applicant return a card, as was the procedure here, is unusual. Size (reduced here) is 5½ by 3⅜ inches.

Canada and the whole employment system of England, omit any mention of wages on the card. It is held as a matter of policy that any action on the part of the office to influence the terms of the contract between the employer and applicant is outside its function; that the probable or approximate compensation of the vacancy, as one of the specifications, must be known to the office and with the employer's consent may be disclosed to the applicant; but that placing it upon the introduction card as though a

contract were being enforced before engagement has been made is not justified.

One of the numerous forms examined is reproduced on this and one on the opposite page. They are selected because they illustrate many of the points discussed. They should not be copied for use

TELEPHONE FARRAGUT 7172 — EMPLOYMENT SERVICE — TELEPHONE FARRAGUT 7172

DATE_____

DIRECTIONS TO APPLICANTS:

NAME OF EMPLOYER_____

ADDRESS_____

APPLY TO_____ RATE OF PAY_____

EMPLOYER PLEASE NOTICE: NO CHARGE IS MADE FOR THIS EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN THIS CARD

THIS INTRODUCES_____

FOR POSITION AS_____

HAVE YOU HIRED THIS APPLICANT?_____

DO YOU WISH OTHER APPLICANTS?_____

EMPLOYER'S SIGNATURE_____

INTRODUCTION CARD—FORM 3

To Introduce Applicants—Form Used by a Social Agency in New York

This card, here slightly modified, contains all the items that are necessary. It is addressed to the employer, which is a good idea. Size (reduced here) is a little less than 6 by 4 inches.

without a thorough examination of all the possible types of items included in the classification given above (pages 378–9).

In cases where employers are not prepared for an applicant's coming to them within an hour or so in response to their order they are usually notified in advance. This is particularly true of out-of-town and farmhand referrals. In the first place, the employer knowing that applicants are on the way will hold the posi-

tion open. Also, if they do not apply to him in a reasonable time he can notify the office. There have been many cases of a farmer's waiting days and maybe weeks for a man who had never gone to him while the office was awaiting a report on the man's referral. A suggested form for this purpose is reproduced in Chapter XXX, Farm Labor.[1] It will serve for one, and up to five applicants.

[1] See page 544.

CHAPTER XXI

DETERMINING AND RECORDING THE RESULTS OF REFERRALS

THE value and necessity of determining for each referral whether or not the applicant secured the position are so universally recognized that the few state systems and individual offices that are still taking credit for "placing" every applicant they refer are thoroughly discredited.[1]

The aid to better employment work through a tactful follow-up of referrals may be stated briefly as follows:

1. It enables the office immediately to send further applicants if the one already sent is unsatisfactory. Fuller specifications of the job itself are brought out where lack of them has resulted in the referral of an unsatisfactory applicant; at the same time the employer can be impressed with the necessity of giving complete specifications. Again, important information is received in regard to the employer, such as plant regulations, customs, and prejudices.

2. The employer is made to feel that the office has a real interest in getting him the most suitable worker, and any misunderstanding of policy or motive may be immediately corrected.

3. Any misrepresentation by employer or applicant may be discovered.

4. The follow-up contact with the employer is often productive of new orders.

5. The judgment of the office and of the individual interviewer is checked up immediately. Nothing is more valuable to interviewers, because the experience increases their stock of knowledge and sharpens their discrimination.

6. Lastly, of course, there is the question of statistics. The quantity of work done by a public institution must be made known, and inasmuch as "places filled" are to the layman's mind the ultimate objective of an employment service, these are the figures which express success. It is true that the absolute figures are misleading because figures that mean wonderfully good work under one set of conditions or for one group of workers would mean inefficiency and failure under other conditions or for

[1] Some well-administered offices which verify other placements scrupulously do not attempt to verify placements of day's workers, on the ground that they invariably receive a complaint if the worker is not engaged and that exactitude is not so important in casual jobs. In such offices the statistics of casual placements are listed separately from other placements.

another group. This does not remove the necessity for records; no argument is needed to support the demand that such as are issued be based upon truth and accuracy. "Placements" which mean only referrals, or an estimated percentage of referrals, are statistically worthless; when such placements are represented as being actual they are downrightly dishonest. When, as in so many instances, an ill-advised attempt has been made to measure efficiency by cost per placement, and the placement figures are merely estimates or else figures of office referrals, the dishonesty becomes even more reprehensible.

The chief excuses for not determining the result of referrals are: (1) the time it takes; (2) the alleged annoyance of employers at being asked to furnish what they call "red tape" statistics; and (3) the common opinion that "the business of an employment office is to send people to jobs; what happens after that is up to the employer and the man." All these points are treated in the following discussion. Argument that time is consumed must be decided in relation to the value of the result obtained.

Obtaining the Information

Voluntary Reporting by Employers and Applicants

The most satisfactory way by which an office can be informed of the result of referrals is through the voluntary report of employers and applicants. To this end all offices aim to carry on a continuous campaign of education. The increased assistance an office can give its clients and their duty to repay an otherwise free service are the two arguments. Both are valid, and the educational campaign should be waged intensively. Applicants may be requested, at the time they are referred, to notify the office immediately by telephone or mail whether they have accepted the position. As for employers, the introduction card, whether in return postal form or not, usually requests them to return it with an indication of the result of the referral.

As already explained, in Great Britain a card is handed to every applicant at time of registering or renewing, which provides for a report to the office in case a position is secured. Again, when a notice is mailed to an employer at the time of referral informing him of the fact and enclosing a return card, as outlined on page 544, the card in question offers an opportunity for a voluntary report.

Telephone Follow-up of Referrals

Because the voluntary report by mail is slow, and because voluntary reports by telephone cannot be expected in a large number of cases, most offices take the initiative themselves. A telephone inquiry is made of the employer on the same day or at the very latest on the day following referral. This enables the office to refer other applicants at once if the first one has not applied or has failed to secure the position. The information is usually easier to obtain while it is "fresh." While some employers have expressed impatience at being "pestered by red-tape methods," tactful explanation has usually removed the irritation. The chief reason why this practice of immediately verifying placements by telephone is not universally followed is the fact that so many offices are understaffed and their telephone trunk line is overtaxed. Local conditions must control, but only absolute necessity should prevent immediate follow-up.[1]

Method of Verifying Placement over the Telephone. As for the actual method of getting the information, few specific directions can be given. It is a question of tact and judgment together with a good deal of firmness. Often, as we have just said, an impatient or irritable employer must be made to understand how necessary this information is to the office in order to give him satisfactory service. As indicated in the taking of employers' orders, the art of a pleasing and convincing address over the telephone is as definite and necessary a thing as is the same art in face to face contacts. Just how far a standardized conversation can be employed only experience in each case will show.

The same type of question in almost identical purport is to be asked of many people. The directions to the telephone operators and the inquiry for the individual wanted can certainly be reduced to a minimum and regular phraseology. Standardization beyond that point is a question of personality. An interviewer who is interested in each new position to be filled and each new applicant who needs one can ask identical questions many times and give a genuine ring to them every time. The mere clerk soon lets the

[1] See pages 260, 261, 268 and 270 for discussion of the question as to who should be assigned the task of telephone follow-up of referrals. On the whole, the follow-up by the interviewer who made the referral seems the best.

questioning degenerate into a mechanical sing-song that betrays itself. In asking the same questions or in meeting similar necessities for apology and explanation, certain phrases come to express the idea more clearly and more courteously than others. They naturally tend to be repeated; all that is meant by "standardization of conversation" is the recognition of this tendency and its intelligent application.

In the offices that have a switchboard with a special operator it has proved helpful to give the operator a list, in order, of the telephone numbers which are to be called, together with the name of the individuals wanted. As the verification clerk is finishing one conversation the operator is getting the next number and person. She announces who is on the wire to the verification clerk just before the final connection with the employer is made. This must be done skillfully so that the employer is not kept waiting by a call originating in the employment office. If a short wait is inevitable in getting an employer to the telephone the switchboard operator carries the burden, while the clerk is free to check up on the cards the information obtained from the last conversation without having to hold the receiver with one hand.

While the employer is usually called in telephone verification, the applicant's home may sometimes be called to inquire the outcome of a referral. In some offices it is a definite policy to endeavor to get a report from the applicant before the employer is approached.

Mail Follow-up

In cases where a satisfactory report by telephone is impracticable, and where neither the introduction card by the employer nor any other kind of report is received within a reasonable time, the mail must be used for inquiry. Three days is usually considered a reasonable time within which to have received a voluntary report if one is coming. Distance or other circumstances may affect the length of this period in individual cases. The use of the mail is not intended to preclude personal visits, special messengers, or telegrams as a means of inquiry where they are possible and the situation warrants them. The presence of a second qualified applicant who must have an immediate answer might often warrant a telegram to see if the first referral had been successful. Or the goodwill

of a large employer may justify a personal visit by the superintendent or interviewer for the information.

But for out-of-town referrals in general and for a certain percentage of city referrals the mail must be used. Such inquiries may be addressed to either the applicant or the employer, or both, and may be repeated. Many offices provide special forms. For applicants a postcard addressed to the office, sometimes stamped or franked and sometimes requiring postage, has been used. Whatever its form the inquiry has been substantially this:

> On . . . (date) you were directed by this office to . . . (name of employer) in reference to a position. Will you kindly report to us on the attached (or enclosed) card whether or not you were engaged? We ask this information in fairness to other applicants. Can we be of any further assistance to you?

Among the public offices in the United States, mail inquiries have more often been addressed to employers because greater return was expected for the expense and effort involved. Such inquiries fall into two classes: those which have to do with a number of persons referred to the same employer, and those which ask about a single applicant. A form, printed on paper, to be returned in an envelope, which gives the names of the persons inquired about is most suitable for a long list of applicants. For one or a small number, a return postcard will serve very well. Either of these forms will contain substantially the following:

> On . . . (date) . . . (name of applicant) was referred to you by this office in response to your request for . . . (kind of position). Kindly indicate whether or not the applicant was engaged and return to this office. We ask this that we may be able to give you better service. Have you any suggestions to that end? Do you wish other applicants?

On page 388 is a sample form to be used when fewer than seven applicants are concerned. The vertical dotted line represents a perforation by which the two ends may be separated. The end containing the list of names is of postcard size and bears a return address on the other side. It should be returnable without cost to the employer if that can be accomplished. It is to be sent out in an envelope (size 8 or 9).[1]

[1] In the effort to make doubly sure of securing a written report, some offices have adopted the expedient of giving the applicant at the time of referral a second card,

Telephone No.....

(Name of employment office)

(Address of office)

GENTLEMEN:

In response to your request the persons named on the other end of this card have been referred to you for employment.

Please check the names of those hired and drop the post card into the mail.—Phone or write a letter if you prefer.

Faithfully yours,

....., *Superintendent*

We have employed the persons whose names are checked:

HIRED: (CHECK)	NAME	OCCUPATION	DATE REFERRED

Name of employer.....

Address.....

TO DETERMINE WHETHER APPLICANTS HAVE BEEN HIRED

Sent to the employer in a No. 8 or No. 9 envelope. To return it the right-hand end is torn off along the perforated line and mailed as a postcard. The reverse side bears the name and address of the employment office. Total length (reduced here) is 9¼ inches; the postcard end is 5½ inches long.

Recording the Information on Results of Referrals

When the result of a referral has been definitely determined, it is first of all indicated on (1) the back of the applicant's registration card, and (2) the back of the employer's order card in the space provided for "Result." The date of receipt of "Result" is also entered. A checking code of one kind or another is almost universally used in such recording. The purpose is partly to conceal the indicated facts from other applicants who might see the card and have no right to the information, and partly for convenience, especially since the character of the information is almost always expressed by one of three or four phrases.

Symbols

Below is reproduced the code originally used in the New York State Bureau:[1]

(1) ✓ indicates "Hired"

(2) √T indicates "Hired on temporary job"

(3) X indicates "Not hired, no fault of applicant"

(4) ○ indicates "Referred and failed to apply to employer"

(5) ⊘ indicates "Hired and quit shortly"

(6) ☑ indicates "Hired and discharged shortly"

(7) ↶ indicates "Hired but failed to appear for work"

(8) ☒ indicates "Hired and decamped after receiving money or meals but never started to work"

(9) ⊗ indicates "Order or application cancelled"

(10) RM indicates that the clerk whose initials are placed in the box knows of some personal complaint (such as breaking of law).

in addition to the introduction card, which he is requested to take with him and later mail to the office indicating whether or not he secured the position. This card provides merely for the applicant's name, address, name of employer, position, and whether or not he was engaged. Further questions as to wages, when work was commenced, or reason for not securing position together with "Remarks" . . . may be added. This practice has not been generally adopted because of the cost of cards and the clerical work of writing them; nearly every employment worker agrees that it would be very desirable.

[1] Only the first four of these results were ordinarily recorded; the fifth, sixth eighth, and tenth almost never. The seventh records a fact that, unfortunately,

The United States Employment Service code used the letter H instead of the check mark (√) to indicate "Hired," and N H for "Not Hired." The Employment Service of Canada uses the letters P and N P—"Placed" and "Not Placed"—in these two instances; but its other symbols are almost identical with the New York code, except that P is always substituted for the check mark (√), thus: P̂, Ⓟ, 🄿.

Necessity of Accuracy in Recording

Because the placements of an employment office constitute so vital an element in the measurement of its success, it is highly essential that businesslike accuracy be employed in recording them. The difficulties of interpreting placement figures are great enough, but if the figures themselves do not accurately record the number of people engaged as the result of referral, no calculation or evaluation can be valid. Because many offices have not recognized the importance of careful verification and the recording of placements, employment statistics of the past have been worthless for purposes of comparison or evaluation. Placements then must not only be clearly defined and scrupulously verified but accurately recorded. To overcome a prejudice induced by past laxity in this regard, and to insure uniformity in different offices or state systems, some concrete evidence must be produced and preserved by each local office as a basis for placement statistics.

Placement Defined

There is a fairly definite agreement in the United States, Canada, and England as to the meaning of "placement." *An applicant who is hired and actually begins work as the result of referral to an employer who has previously given the order to the office is considered "placed."*[1]

Many difficulties are encountered in the application of this definition. An applicant sometimes is engaged to begin work two days or a week later. The introduction card properly signed is returned to the office and a placement recorded. Later the applicant fails to begin work and the employer may never tell the office. Again,

occurs not infrequently. The recording of the facts in the case of the tenth point has been sharply questioned as being improper for a public office.

[1] The inaccuracy of "placement" as it is often used in this connection is indicated on page 383.

an out-of-town employer comes to the employment office and hires applicants on the spot. Most offices, as the written instructions of both the United States Employment Service and the Employment Service of Canada direct, record these at once as placements. Many things may actually prevent some of these applicants from beginning work later on.

These possibilities are pointed out because they must be recognized. It is our opinion that they do not, unless in very exceptional circumstances, occur often enough to invalidate either the definition or figures compiled under it. A further study of this question from actual "placements" should be made by the research department of an employment system with a view to seeing how serious this matter may be and to determining how to insure the greater accuracy of the records.

Evidence of Placement

For the purpose of securing dependable data, and as the proof of close verification of referrals under the above definition, the entire employment systems of both England and Canada as well as some of the best conducted offices in the United States require that a special record, in one of several possible forms, be kept as evidence that a placement has been made. No placement should be entered in the statistics of the office without being recorded on this blank. The various forms which this evidence may take are as follows:[1]

1. A returned introduction card (or the list of names if, in the referral of a group, such a list has been substituted for introduction cards) duly signed by the employer indicating that the applicant has been engaged, or in lieu of this, a voluntarily written letter or report signed by the employer and giving the essential facts.

2. A signed postal or other written voluntary report from the applicant indicating that he has been engaged (such as the English registration card spoken of on page 376).

3. A signed report from either employer or applicant which is received as the result of inquiry from office.

4. An oral report from either employer or applicant, provided that a special note of the fact, of the date and manner of its receipt, and initialed by the officer who received it, is made immediately on its receipt.

[1] The difficulties of determining placements, as pointed out in the preceding paragraph, are seen in the forms of evidence that must be depended upon.

5. A definite report received through a third person provided that the office is fully satisfied as to its correctness and also provided that the date and manner of its receipt as well as of the name of the person reporting and the initials of the officer who received it are given.

In regard to the first three types of evidence nothing need be said save that they must be preserved when secured. It is not enough merely to check up the information on order and registration cards.

Verification Check Card

For use in recording the facts under point 4, a valuable form was created in Massachusetts which was copied in New York, California, and Montreal; and which has more recently been adopted by the Employment Service of Canada. In a legislative investigation in Massachusetts a canvass of employers disclosed the fact that in a certain percentage of cases their payrolls or personnel records did not confirm the claims of placement made by the State Employment Office in Boston. It is not at all certain that a large enough sample of placements was investigated or that these employers' records were reliable enough to condemn the office's figures, but at any rate the impression was given that the recording of "placements" was loosely done. To protect itself against future misunderstandings the Boston office conceived the form referred to; and the regulation was made that written evidence of one kind or another should thereafter be preserved to indicate the precise basis for every placement. This form has been adopted by the Employment Service of Canada for the whole Dominion. Some modification of arrangement has been made, and space for listing five applicants instead of one is provided. In essential purpose and method of use, however, it is identical with the original form. It is reproduced on page 393.

This form has always been of postcard size and has variously been printed on light-weight cards and on paper. When on paper it is put in pad form for convenience. Two or three minor additions to the items on this card are worth consideration by future users:

1. Under the "manner in which information was received" it might be made explicit (a) that the telephone message is received on the initiative of the employer or applicant or that it is received on

inquiry from the office; (b) that applicant was hired in the office; (c) that applicant is shipped from the railroad station; (d) that information is received from a third person, and so on.

2. Date on which applicant went to work
3. Name of person giving information
4. Serial number (a) of employer's order; (b) of applicant's registration in each case.

EMPLOYER'S NAME

Date on which placement is recorded in report

EMPLOYER'S ADDRESS

MANNER IN WHICH INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED	Check here	NAME OF APPLICANT	OCCUPATION	DATE SENT
By phone from Employer				
By phone from Applicant				
In person from Employer				
In person from Applicant				
By Mail from Employer				
By Mail from Applicant				

REMARKS (can be continued on back.)

Date and Hour, Initials of receiving clerk.

E.O. 10. Confirmation of Placement, EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

To Record Placement—Employment Service of Canada

Filled out and filed when the signed introduction card is not available. Size 5½ by 3½ inches.

In use this form is filled out whenever the fact of a placement is determined and none of the other three types of evidence is in hand. Practically, this means that either the "confirmation of placement" or a signed and returned introduction card represents nine out of ten placements in the ordinary office. Being of the same size they can be filed together by dates or by employers' names, at the pleasure of the office. A rule followed in some offices is to have the "placement" column in the daily report made up from these "evidence of placement" cards. It is thus impossible to record a placement unless an "evidence card" exists as a warrant of authority.

This care to insure accuracy in detail in placement recording

will be found much less burdensome than it appears. Experience in New York and Massachusetts shows that when its use has been reduced to routine office procedure the extra work required is not seriously felt.

Value of Placement Evidence

As a means of administration and supervision of the details of office business, nothing can be more enlightening than this file of placement evidence. In several offices the superintendent has every such card pass over his desk daily for his personal examination and information. He notes the employers' names and other items. The psychological reaction on the office force of this attention is worth a great deal. Mistakes are much more unlikely if the clerk has to indicate exactly how the information was received and attach his initials.

It is not a pleasant observation, but emulation and efforts to "make a showing," sometimes for the purpose of getting a much-needed increase in the budget, in the past have caused a liberal interpretation of what constitutes "evidence" of placement. Figures were swollen and "cost per head" reduced. Individual clerks have been known to boost their own department in the same way. An instruction of the British Employment Exchanges reads: "The manager or other responsible officer of the Exchange should from time to time check the evidence of the engagement of applicants, in order to satisfy himself that it is satisfactory." Furthermore, this file in each local office would be of great interest to the supervisor of a district, and might well furnish him an index of the office's accuracy and attention to detail.

A variation from the use of a "confirmation of placement" form as illustrated above, is found in England. Offices there use an order card 8 by 5 inches in size containing a special column on the back or "action" side of the card for "evidence of placings and remarks." The regulations require the initials of the clerk to be added when the information has been received orally. All other written evidence of placing must be kept in a file by itself just as in the plan outlined above. This variation is entirely practicable but it loses the advantages of a *complete evidence file* without eliminating an appreciable amount of work.

Continuing the same idea, it would be practicable to work out a

code covering all the possible means of receiving information. This code could then be used *for every placement,* inserted in a space exactly like that which the British form provides for "evidence of placings and remarks" on the back of the registration card, thus doing away with the evidence card. A certain difficulty will be experienced in finding space on a 6 by 4 inch card, however.

Follow-Up After Placement

After it is learned that an applicant has been hired, it is the usual policy of public employment offices to consider the transaction closed unless the applicant returns voluntarily. In the case of juniors and handicapped groups, however, the practice of following up the applicant in order to determine how satisfactory the placement actually proved to be has been instituted. The placement offices of certain trade schools have done the same thing for their graduates. This practice is valuable in three respects; it enables the office to give further advice or assistance to the applicant if either are needed; it gives the best possible measurement of the success of the office in its effort to direct applicants to positions for which they are fitted; and it brings in a great deal of first-hand and valuable information about the vacancies in a particular shop or industry. This follow-up sometimes takes the form of a cordial invitation to an applicant to come to the office for a chat at a convenient evening hour, and sometimes that of a questionnaire to be filled out and returned to the office. Personal visits to the work-place are expensive of time but by far the most satisfactory.

CHAPTER XXII

LOCAL CLEARANCE

THE advisability of centralizing or decentralizing an employment service within a large city has already been discussed,[1] and the advantages of a single general office over a number of branch offices have been pointed out.[2] The present chapter is to consider the detailed methods by which two or more offices in the same city registering applicants in the same occupations may co-operate in the exchange of orders and applicants. Those who believe that only a single office should be established for an occupation regardless of the size of the city, or who are interested in the smaller city where the problem can never arise, can pass over this chapter without loss. Local clearance between offices in the same city is certain to be necessary in many cases, however; and it is for them that this chapter is written.

In a large city, for instance, where there are five or 10 or 30 offices each in a different section, the applicants on a particular morning are applying some in one office and some in another. Likewise each employer has given his orders for workmen to some one office, and if all the orders for carpenters were to be inspected it is evident that one office after another would have to be visited. As a result, without some means of very rapid communication between the office which receives the order from the employer and the other nine offices (assuming a total of 10), only the applicants at this one office have an opportunity at that work, and the employer does not receive the skilled man who happened at that very moment to be applying at one of the other nine offices. In other words, people are applying for positions in 10 different places and employers' orders are being received in 10 different places. Each order, to be properly filled, needs a selection from among all applicants available on that day in any office, and each applicant should

[1] See page 245 ff.

[2] See pages 248 and 249.

have a complementary selection from among all available positions regardless of the local office in which employers may have happened to lodge them.

To accomplish this interchange, some method must be used which will enable these 10 offices to act as a unit. This network of offices, which in a metropolitan center attempts to co-ordinate the work of a number of offices, must be so closely knit that a system will accomplish for the various localities what the single bureau in the smaller city accomplishes for its particular community.

To decentralize an employment service within a city, then, and to increase branch offices among which orders and applicants are distributed, tends to defeat the purpose of the service's being a central depot of information for which it was established. This creates the problem as to whether a system of clearance can be devised which will overcome the undesirable effects of decentralization. Its purpose will be to make simultaneously available to every office all vacancies, and at the same time to stop action on each vacancy in every office as soon as a full quota of applicants has been referred.

Clearance Defined

We have defined clearance as the exchange or the distribution between employment offices of information about vacancies or applicants, with the object of referring the applicants of one office to employers who had sought workers through another.

To distinguish it from long-distance clearance, which is discussed in the following chapter, *we have further defined local clearance as clearance between offices which lie within an area whose size or transportation facilities make it possible for a man to live in any part of it and work in any other.* Local clearance may be practised in any city where two or more employment offices place people in the same occupations.

Local Clearance in New York City

The only city in the United States which has done any continued and significant experimenting with local clearance is New York. The methods which we suggest were worked out there and are perhaps limited by the local character of their application. Nevertheless, they may serve as a possible basis for devising a system for

other localities, say, for Chicago or Detroit, with such deviations as would be required.

The history of New York's experience is briefly this: In June, 1917, the Mayor's Committee of Women on National Defense, at the request and with the backing of the Federation of Non-Commercial Employment Bureaus, established a clearing house for those non-profit-making employment offices which placed women and girls. The volume of business in this clearing house steadily grew for four months and a half, from June until the middle of November. In this latter month the State Defense Council, a branch of the Council of National Defense for New York State, appropriated $10,000 with the understanding that the sum would be supplemented by $5,000 from the Mayor's Committee (of men) on National Defense, and by another $5,000 from the Mayor's Committee of Women on National Defense.[1] This $20,000 was to provide a year's budget for a central clearing house which should clear orders for workers (both men and women) and applications for work among all non-fee charging employment offices in New York City which could be induced to co-operate. The clearing house for women's offices which had opened in June was to continue as the women's department of the new organization.

Thus in November, 1917, the Clearing House for Employment Offices opened at 44 East Twenty-third Street. It cleared orders for a total of about 120 different employment bureaus, about 30 of which were effective bureaus doing a large daily business. An increasing volume of business was handled up to August 1, 1918, when the whole organization was taken over by the newly established United States Employment Service as the clearing unit of that organization. The office continued to try to perform its tasks through the hectic days of that fall and winter when the demobilization of soldiers returning from France taxed every resource to get the men jobs. In March, 1919, when the United States Employment Service's appropriation was sharply reduced, the clearing house practically went out of existence.

[1] Both these committees had been appointed by Mayor John Purroy Mitchel.

Clearance of Juniors in Manhattan, New York

One other instance in the development of local clearance should be noted. For the past two years the Vocational Service for Juniors in New York City, a private organization working in close connection with the public school system of the city, has operated four branch employment offices for boys and girls under eighteen years of age by means of a clearance system which is headed up in a central clearance office. This is probably at present the only definitely organized and regularly functioning local clearance system to be found in the United States.[1]

Two Distinct Methods of Local Clearance

Two fundamentally different methods of local clearing have grown out of New York's experience. One sets up a central office or clearing house which acts as a reservoir for vacancies, constantly collecting them from branch offices and employers, and distributing them among the offices according to the ability of each to supply suitable applicants. The other is based on direct communication between the various offices by telephone or messenger, with the communication controlled to a greater or less extent by a central administration department or clearing house. The first method was the one developed by the clearing house for Non-Commercial Employment Offices before it was taken over by the United States Employment Service, and was later adopted in principle by the Vocational Service for Juniors. The other method was developed under the United States Employment Service. Both methods have tried the use of regularly issued bulletins as a means of wholesale simultaneous transmission of information to branch offices.

It is necessary to say that none of the attempts so far has proved entirely satisfactory, but the methods employed and the mistakes which only experience could reveal, make a starting point for further effort.

Reservoir Method of Clearing

The reservoir method of clearing, which was first developed, has behind it the fundamental idea that by a centralization of all vacancies they can be made available by telephone to each office

[1] March, 1923.

at all times; and that any order for a worker can be removed from the files as soon as a sufficient number of applicants have been referred. Let us discuss this method by taking it up step by step, as it would be applied to a system of offices administered from one center, together with its variations.

1. Employers in the vicinity of a branch office give their orders for workers to that office in the expectation that as many applicants as possible may be referred who live within walking distance of their work-place.

Orders for workers are also received directly from employers at the central clearing house and distributed to the branch offices from there. Out-of-town employers calling for adult labor, and very large employers, are requested to deposit their vacancies in the clearing house on the theory that no branch office is capable of meeting the need. Small employers in each district, however, may deposit their vacancies in the local office so as to give the first opportunity to residents of their district. (It is understood that vacancies in all cases are taken on adequate blank forms with a full statement of fact in regard to the position in each case.)

2. When the data on vacancies are originally deposited in a branch office, an effort is made to fill them immediately from applicants registered at that office. If this cannot be done the order is transferred to the clearing house, the record of it identically reproduced on a vacancy form there, including name and address of employer and all facts recorded in the original office. This vacancy is then considered as having been "released" to the clearing house, and if a suitable applicant comes later to the original office it ascertains from the clearing house whether or not the position has been filled.

3. The clearing house is constantly receiving vacancies from two sources: from employers directly and from local offices as per above. These vacancies are recorded on regular card forms and filed by occupations in trays on the desks of the "clearing" clerks. Each clerk may specialize on a definite group of occupations corresponding to those specialized in by interviewers in the local office. The file into which the vacancy was placed contains all the "open" or "active" vacancies in that occupation of which the clearing house has any record.

At the clearance office there is, let us say, a vacancy reported for a stationary engineer with a third-class license. Any office which has an engineer on its list can apply for the option to fill the position. After a brief discussion between the clearance and the branch office as to the applicant's qualifications, the former removes the vacancy form from its "active file" and notes the office or offices to which it gives the "option" on the back. This method aims to establish the potential availability to every office of each vacancy received at the clearing house and to withdraw the order as soon as enough applicants have been referred. The active file thus serves as a reservoir of vacancies which can be drawn upon by any office. The matter of initiative in handling orders is experimented with; offices are responsible for getting vacancies for all applicants, and, on the other hand, the clearing house keeps watch of its active files and when a number of one kind of vacancy accumulate notifies the various offices of the fact.

4. Practically, the length of time that local offices are to hold orders depends upon the character of the individual order. Vacancies of a type filled in great numbers by a certain office from among its own applicants may be held in that office until the close of the day, or with a certainty of being filled there until 8 o'clock the next morning. The plan is that vacancies for which applicants are rarely found in a particular office shall be turned over to the clearing house upon receipt. Another element also enters in. The urgency of clearing vacancies for carpenters, for example, is not so great in September as in January because in September there are usually vacancies for carpenters in every office, but in January calls for them are comparatively scarce and the interests of all concerned demand their immediate clearance.

Some means, statistical or supervisory, of checking up the judgment of the interviewers on length of time vacancies are to be held, is required. The presumption is in favor of their being cleared at once, unless the interviewer's judgment tells him that they can be filled at his own office during the day. His judgment can be checked by the number of unfilled vacancies he turns in at night.

A definite maximum period for clearing in the branch office may be arranged thus: Every original vacancy has been recorded in duplicate by means of a carbon sheet. Experience has proved that

this taking of orders in duplicate is entirely practicable. Some vacancies are cleared at once by telephone. Of the ones that are held, some reach 4 o'clock unfilled. Then at 4 o'clock the duplicates of all those remaining are collected and sent to the clearing house by messenger. These duplicates, without copying, are ready to go immediately into the active file of the clearing house. Thus, no order is ever held beyond the end of the current day and a great many are telephoned in sooner.

5. Bulletins have been issued which give local offices each morning a photograph, in effect, of the active vacancy files in the clearing house at the opening of business on that morning. The bulletin does not go into the details of the vacancies, and is made up at night after the duplicate copies of them have been received from the various offices at the close of business for the preceding day. The value of this bulletin is still to be determined, though the evidence is in its favor.

6. In the contact of clearing house and local office, the central clearing office of the non-commercial agencies attempted in New York City to systematize telephone calls so that every thirty minutes regularly, on the hour and half hour, the "carpenters' desk" in the clearing house, for example, was free to talk with the "building trades' desk" in office No. 5. The purpose of this rule was to prevent a jamming of the wires. Also, every half hour a general clerk in office No. 5 turned over to the order clerk in the clearing house the details of such vacancies as the interviewers in the meantime had decided to clear immediately.

In the Vocational Service for Juniors the four branch employment offices are put on a regular schedule of morning telephone calls from the clearance office giving a list of jobs open and ready to be taken if the branch office is able to refer applicants. At such times either particular applicants are described to the clearance office and employers' orders taken which are likely to be suitable for these applicants, or a number of orders are taken and a report made at the end of the day whether they have been filled. In between scheduled calls the branch office may, for instance, ask for a particular order of which the clearance office previously had informed it and of which it had made a memorandum.

Inter-Office Method of Clearing

It will be noted that in the preceding method of clearing, all the dealings of local offices are with the clearing house and not with one another. In the second method actual transfer of vacancies and transfer of applicants as well take place only between offices. The steps are as follows:

1. All vacancies are deposited by employers in the nearest office. The office proceeds as in the other case to fill all of its "own" vacancies that it can with its own applicants.

2. The clearing house under this scheme does not take the unfilled vacancies from the offices, but gets into regular communication (at 30, 45, or 60 minute intervals, say,) with each office and gets from it a brief report of its active file in each department. The detailed data of each vacancy are not recorded, nor even the name or address of the employer. The occupation, wage, sex wanted, and possibly one or two other general limitations are noted—or such a brief statement made as "30 carpenters wanted different jobs, 45 to 75 cents per hour." At the same time a report of the unplaced applicants is made; this indicates the kinds of jobs needed by that office. The report would be: "5 union bricklayers; 2 cooks, $20 a week; 10 machinists, 70 cents an hour"; and so on.

3. In the clearing house a card or chart is made up for each occupation. A vertical line divides this card into two equal parts; on the left side are listed vacancies with the offices reporting them, and on the right side applicants with the names of the offices at which they are registered. As soon as one "round" of all offices has been made on the telephone, clerks "match up," in each occupation, the vacancies against the applicants which are in different offices and the records of which have been thus brought together. It is seen that office No. 2 has five auto mechanics applying for work, that office No. 7 has vacancies for four auto mechanics, and office No. 4 has a vacancy for one; and so on, as far as this can be done. Then all the offices are called again; office No. 2 is told to call both office No. 7 and office No. 4 and get the list of vacancies deposited there. Just so the result of the "matching up" is conveyed to each office for all occupations in which they reported a surplus or a demand for labor. After time enough has elapsed for

the offices to have got in touch with one another a new report of applicants or vacancies on hand is gathered and the process is repeated. The theory is that if offices placed in contact with one another the first time are not able to make applicants fit vacancies, new contacts will be made on the next "matching up." It takes a whole turn of the machinery to make each contact. A criticism is that the information used in "matching" is incomplete.

4. A daily bulletin is used in this method to give each office in the morning a picture of the vacancies and applicants that were on hand the night before listed by offices so that direct communication can be entered into at once. Then the "matching" by the clearing house continues after the day's new vacancies, and new applicants make the information on the bulletin stale or too old to be relied on.

Problems of Local Clearance

Local clearance becomes largely a problem of organization and of adaptation of mechanical devices to overcome physical handicaps. We have attempted to sum up the main elements of this problem concisely under the following headings:

1. Simultaneous Clearing of Orders

The ideal of clearing would be to place simultaneously on the desk of every office, each vacancy at the moment when it comes from the employer. Practically, how closely must we approximate this? The answer will vary with the kind of vacancy and its urgency. A casual worker must often be furnished at once if at all. We must then provide for distribution of orders in such a way that any office will have had an opportunity to refer applicants to an unfilled vacancy not later than the day following its origin, and usually on the same day.

2. Simultaneous Withdrawal of Vacancies

Bound up with this distribution of vacancies among a number of offices is the necessity of a simultaneous withdrawal or arresting of action on each vacancy as soon as a full complement of applicants shall have been referred.

3. Mechanical Devices as an Aid in Overcoming Distance

What mechanical devices can aid in overcoming distance? Shall there be a private telephone system between offices or between the clearing house and the offices? Is it possible to have all employers call one telephone number and then can each employer be connected right through to the office most likely to have an applicant, thus "clearing" the vacancy before it is actually recorded? Are there any possibilities in the telautograph by means of which vacancies could be reproduced simultaneously upon like forms at the different offices? What use can be made of special messenger service and mail service?

4. Saving of Interviewer's Time

The emphasis on the saving of the interviewer's time in both dispatching and receiving orders is vital, because in a large office he may have a considerable number of applicants waiting for him, and his time is extremely valuable.

5. With Whom Shall the Initiative Lie in Handling Employers' Orders?

Shall the "dispatching office" take the initiative and see that every other office, or that a central "clearing house," is notified of each vacancy? Or shall each office be obliged to strike out by telephone or solicitor in search of the vacancies its unplaced applicants can fill? Or shall a clearing house take the initiative in getting information about vacancies from the offices and then in dispatching them? Or shall the initiative be doubled, each office being responsible for the accomplishment of its own part, thus doubling the chances of each transaction's being carried out?

6. Shall All Vacancies Be Handled By Clearance?

In case all employers are asked to deposit their vacancies in the clearing house originally, the branch offices would then be obliged to get vacancies for all applicants from the central reservoir instead of having a certain stock of their "own orders." There is undoubtedly a publicity value in the following phrase: "For any kind of help call Main 1000." The centralized information on work done

and to be done, which these active vacancy files in the clearing house would give at a glance, would be invaluable. The difficulty is the physical problem of transferring them fast enough by telephone (or telautograph?) to the local interviewers as they each face a line of applicants in the morning.

In answer to this question it is our opinion that both the clearance office and the branch office should assume responsibility in obtaining employers' orders. Otherwise the branch office will become seriously handicapped in its contact with employers, and as already stated, the mechanical difficulties attendant upon the operation of a clearance system will be greatly increased.

7. Reservoir Method Versus Inter-Office Clearing

What shall be the unifying or connecting link between the offices? Shall there be any single organized control or direction over the whole process of clearing, or can the different parts be so related that they work together automatically, without any such specific direction?

Again, in our opinion the evidence points in favor of the reservoir method if a choice is to be made, although on the basis of further experience a combination of the two methods may be worked out, or rather the use of both methods side by side.

8. Adequacy of Information

Of a different character is the question of the adequacy of information relative to both vacancy and applicant and the prompt transmissal of the data. Without question, conditions for personal service to both sides are most nearly ideal when the same interviewer knows the employer personally and has taken the order directly from him, on the one hand, and interviews all applicants for the position on the other. There are a thousand and one things that may determine which individual is the best for a particular vacancy, things that seemingly cannot be reduced to brief items on a vacancy or order form. This is saying that the farther you get from the job itself the harder it is to keep in mind, or even know of, all the factors.

From one aspect of the matter only the employer himself is actually fitted to hire an applicant (and the turnover on account of

his mistakes is high!). In another place we discuss the value and practicability of having the same interviewer complete the whole transaction with both sides. However that may be determined, the point here is that if a vacancy is originally recorded in one office and an applicant is to be referred from another, it is obviously impossible for the same interviewer to have personal contact at both ends (except in those instances where the referring office telephones the employer to discuss the applicant on hand). For those who insist on this personal contact, all clearing is unsatisfactory or difficult. However, just to the degree that the advantages of personal contact can be approximated, this difficulty can be overcome. And it is our opinion that, if the order taker becomes expert, and the form used is adequate, enough data can be taken so that creditable employment work may be done. Clearing involves the transmission, without loss, of these data from one office to another. Our purpose here is merely to recognize the necessity and difficulty of its complete and adequate transmission by whatever method of clearing.

9. Personal Contact With Employer

The practicability of clearing has been questioned on the ground that when a vacancy is taken from the office which has a personal contact with the employer, the same amount of interest and attention will not be displayed in the filling of it at the second office. Indeed, local offices have been loath to release orders which they have received from employers because they were afraid that another office would not show the interest and the skill in referring applicants that they would themselves, and that thereby they would suffer in the eyes of the employer for the poor work done by another. Many a time have we heard the statement, "I wouldn't trust any other interviewer in New York to handle that order; I'd lose the employer forever. I'd rather it would go unfilled than have some one bungle it." This is a very real problem and any method of clearing must take it into account.

10. Releasing an Order From the Branch Office

In New York a serious difficulty has been encountered and never entirely overcome, in the tendency of local offices to retain vacancies which they had received from employers in the hope that a suit-

able applicant might come along and that their office could get credit for the placement. If they "cleared" the vacancy, some other office would get the credit for filling it. The result would be that all clearing might be crippled because only the low-paid or undesirable vacancies were "cleared"; the desirable vacancies might be held often until the employer had obtained help elsewhere. In the operation of the non-commercial offices, of course there was no system of coercion or supervision which directed the handling and clearance of each vacancy. Possibly such supervision could have achieved this. Better results, too, might have been obtained as is the case with the Vocational Service for Juniors which operates as a unit. If statistical credit is to amount to anything as a measure of the work of a man or an office, it must be so apportioned that the true advancement of the system of placement by that man or that office is correctly measured, not just a record made of the number of persons "placed." It must be made clear that there is more credit in enabling another office to fill a job today than in filling it yourself tomorrow. Recognition of this fact will lead to a whole-hearted co-operation in clearings.

11. Plan for Complete Statistics Required

A plan for complete statistics, both for administrative and publication purposes, must accompany any method of clearing. As an illustration of confusion in New York City statistics under the non-commercial agencies and the United States Employment Service, this situation existed: If a vacancy was received at one office, of course that office recorded the fact in the "help wanted" column of its daily record. Later that vacancy was cleared to another office and filled there. The second office also records this vacancy among its help wanted as well as in its "referred" and "placed" columns. When the records for the city are compiled this vacancy counts as help wanted twice. Multiply this many times and the value of the statistics is vitiated. This particular difficulty, however, has been overcome in the employment work of the Vocational Service for Juniors. No record of the total number of help wanted is made out in the branch offices, it being compiled by the clearance office.

Specialized Clearing for Specialized Offices

So much for the problems of local clearance and the suggestions which practical experience to date has to offer. This should be added, that throughout the discussion up to this point we have tried to keep the issue clear by assuming that all offices would be general offices handling workers in the same occupations, since clearing will only be done for each occupation between such offices. But in an ordinary city some occupations have many more workers than others and additional facilities in the way of extra offices will be provided. Laborers may be handled in eight offices in Buffalo, but there may be only three offices supplying machinists. It might be deemed wise in such a case to allow the three machinists' offices to do their clearing of machinists directly with one another, while the offices supplying laborers would deal only with a central clearing house. We suggest this only to indicate that each problem must be decided on its own merits. In such a city there might be an office where all employment work for a certain class or a certain occupation, as for deaf people or engineers, would be done in it. Under these circumstances clearing would not become a question; all vacancies would be automatically filed in such an office.

Further, it is not essential that the clearing house for all occupations be centralized in one place; if there is a particular skilled trades' bureau which makes as much as half of all the placements in those trades, it may be wise to allow that bureau to conduct the clearing house of those trades. The essential thing is that there be some definite method of clearing for each occupation. Whether, as a matter of organization and administration, it would be preferable to bring the clearing house for all the various occupations together in one building can be determined best by further experience and local conditions.

CHAPTER XXIII

LONG DISTANCE CLEARANCE AND TRANSFERRAL

IN THE preceding discussion the employment office was considered as a local institution. As a part of an employment office system, however, the local office also attempts to make the labor supply of its locality part of the total labor supply of the state or nation. Offices are brought into contact by interchange of workers.

We have defined clearance as the exchange, or distribution between employment offices of more or less detailed information about vacancies or applicants, with the object of sending workers who have applied at one employment office to fill the vacancies of employers who have sent in their orders to another. *Long distance clearance is clearance between offices which are so far apart that the applicants of one are obliged to change their residence or lodging in order to take a position in the district served by the other.* It usually takes place between offices in different cities or states. For the purpose of this discussion a city or local clearance area will be considered as a basic unit, and it will be assumed that its central office has done all it could to meet local labor needs before resorting to long distance clearance.

I. GENERAL POLICY

Before considering the mechanism of long distance clearance, its exact function and the possible attitude of different interests to it should be brought to mind. An important premise in the government operation of an employment service is its use in the public interest, and in the public interest only. The aim of long distance clearance is to prevent unemployment in one place while production lags because of lack of workmen in another. A corollary of this policy is the understanding that when workmen must be imported into a community, available labor supplies will be tapped

in a sequence which corresponds to their distance from the locality needing them, the nearest supply always being drawn on first. This is based on the assumption that even when the adjustment of labor supply to demand is necessary, the movement of workers over unnecessarily long distances is to be avoided. Particular circumstances may dictate the use of clearance when the matter of distance is of secondary importance. The tuberculous person, who must have work in a high altitude in order to live, is an example. However, the criterion upon which a judgment to clear is based remains unchanged.

Implicit in this policy is the refusal to use clearance machinery to assist the movement of workers when such movement for any reason is against the public interest. This leaves the administrative section of the service, with the aid of representative advisory boards, to decide when requests for clearance are for or against the "public interest."

Interests of Workers and Employers to be Reckoned With

Of immediate concern in the working out of such a policy is the attitude of the two groups involved. Individual workingmen are willing to move to a distant job only because they expect personal needs, desires, or ambitions will be served. We allude here only to ordinary peace time motives; during war individuals may make supreme efforts in the name of patriotism. The peace time motive of a man in going to Cincinnati, for example, may be a higher salary or other advancement, family or personal connections, or a desire to "see the country." He is at liberty to use all lawful means in the accomplishment of his desire. The existence of a government employment service would add one other means, perhaps, and would be likely to give him reliable information on his prospects in that city. When this man persuades himself that Cincinnati is the place for him, and the service warns him that he will probably starve with hundreds of others there but that work at good wages is abundant in Buffalo, he may be prevailed upon to go to Buffalo. His personal fortunes govern him, not the reducing of unemployment in Cincinnati or the meeting of a shortage of labor in Buffalo.

Moreover, if he should be told that men are wanted in both

Cincinnati and Buffalo, and his wife's family lives in Cincinnati, or some other interest draws him there, he will not be satisfied with the government's limiting its aid to a move to Buffalo. He may use that aid, work a week, and then go the remainder of the way "on his own"!

Or let us look at the employer's side of the case. He must recruit workers in lawful ways that are financially advantageous. The possibility that his immediate business interest at times may appear to differ from a broader public policy has been pointed out. His business is competitive, and if he can beat a rival in competition for labor carried to a devastating extreme, money comes his way just as surely as if he beats him in competition for foreign markets. It may not be far-sighted to exploit the labor market but it is within the rules of the game. When he wants help, he wants it *quickly;* dependence on the government service which the community is under some obligation to patronize, may result in the deliberate hold up of his order for a week until a local supply is released. He telegraphs his branch manager in Chicago to ship him the men he needs at once. He has beaten his rival.

These cases are not cited as invalidating the policy to be followed in long distance clearance. Nor do they imply difficulties too great to be mastered; for England's experience has shown that long distance clearance can be accomplished, and Canada's points in that direction. They indicate obstacles to its one hundred per cent performance; handicaps which we believe an intelligent administration of the service will gradually reduce. *In the long run* the individual interest and the public interest are not so different; the operation of a clearance service which always gives accurate information and is always frank as to the reasons for its decisions, will in the end bring many people to look at their interest from the long-time point of view. It must go ahead stimulating such transfer of men as is for the public interest and giving the reasons why it refuses actively to aid other movements. While it will not be able to handle all the shifting labor it will from the first have a steadying influence and in time will handle more and more.

What positive steps, if any, the government may take to control the movement of men which goes on outside its clearance and transferral system is not pertinent here. That it will wish to pre-

vent an artificial and selfish stimulation of such movement, either by fee-charging employment agencies or by irresponsible advertising in distant cities, seems to be forecasted by developments in the past. However, full information as to labor conditions, so as to determine the need for such movement, is the first requisite in any such policy of public control.

Adjustment, Not Mere Shifting of Men, the Object

In the past we in the United States have talked very loosely about shipping men from one part of the country to another, as though they were merely cattle or commodities; and as though the desirability of such indiscriminate shipment from an industrial and social point of view were unquestioned. In the operation of a clearance service the policy here outlined bears definitely upon this idea. The transfer of workers in increasing numbers is an uprooting of valued ties and home and community relationships that must be looked upon with concern, even though a certain amount of such movement is a good thing. Long distance clearance, therefore, is intended as an emergency device of the employment service to prevent, in the public interest, the continuance of labor shortages and surpluses in different sections and to accomplish this purpose in the most orderly way.

The success of long distance clearance will be measured by the extent to which it keeps an inter-city or inter-sectional balance between sustained shortage and sustained oversupply of labor, with the least number of actual transfers and least number of total transfer miles traveled. The premium will be placed, not on mere machinery for easy movement of men, but primarily on intelligent weighing of the industrial and social factors involved in such movement. The machinery, while it must receive attention from men who are experts at operating such organized efforts, is really an instrument whose efficiency is to be measured by the degree of social and industrial adjustment maintained, rather than by quantity of output. It is a mechanism which will have to be running all the time, probably, in order to meet each emergency as it comes; that it should run empty part or most of the time might be its greatest praise.

II. PROBLEMS OF LONG DISTANCE CLEARANCE

Necessity of Complete Local Information

The plan here discussed assumes that all local resources have been tapped and the utmost local adjustment possible reached before an office appeals to long distance clearance. One difficulty in past attempts has been that our offices have rarely handled a large enough proportion of the labor turnover of a community to know absolutely that a surplus of men applying in the bureau for jobs, or of employers for workers, represented a like surplus for the community outside. For it is the district surpluses and shortages which are to be adjusted, not the statistics of the office serving the district. It is not necessary for an office to handle 100 per cent of the district's labor turnover in order to gauge the situation correctly. But it is necessary that the local superintendent understand how vital it is for him to have a complete knowledge of labor conditions in his district before he requests an item cleared.

The point arises because many of the attempts at long distance clearance have been carried on by "matching-up" the orders for workers which were automatically reported as unfilled in certain offices, against the registrations which were reported as unplaced in others, and the machinery of transferral set in motion without any guarantee that the items listed represented a real surplus or real shortage in the different districts that could not have been cared for locally.[1]

A factor in the decision to clear is the length of time that a particular shortage or surplus in a neighborhood is likely to continue. If a shortage of factory workers would be relieved in two weeks, say, by the coming in of corn and potato harvesters in the fall, new workers should hardly be brought in from a great distance by the government. Absorption of surplus labor, for instance, in a district might be achieved by an early spring opening up of the building and farm seasons—a local absorption that might bring relief just as quickly as an attempt at out-of-town-clearance.

Moreover, the possibility of dovetailing men of one occupation

[1] The exigencies of war probably justified the transferring of men to war work whenever they were found unplaced, but that reasoning does not hold in ordinary times.

into another ought to be considered before distance clearance is decided upon. It may be found desirable for the superintendent to call in his local advisory board, representing all interests, to decide whether local conditions require clearance of either registrations or orders. These points are brought up not to make clearance appear an extremely undesirable thing, but to suggest that local conditions are not always as unbalanced as they seem to be to an employment office superintendent whose view extends no farther than his own registration desk.

Collection and Transmission of Adequate Data

When it is decided that clearance is necessary, the physical limitations to be overcome are many. We have already seen how difficult it is for an employment office, as a third party, to satisfactorily handle the details involved in filling a vacancy in any case. In local clearance there is bound to be a great loss of the personal element that is so vital. In long distance clearance this loss is further increased, first, by the greater inadequacy in both speed and detail of the telegraph, long distance telephone, or mail service, as compared with personal interview and local telephone; and secondly, by the fact that even more kinds of information and these in greater detail are required than in local placement. Granting these obstacles, it is still possible to clear successfully if the difficulties are frankly met by each local superintendent.

Whatever details of procedure are employed, the fundamental requirement of long distance clearance is the exchange of data adequate to a decision. After the advisability, in the public interest, of the importation of workers on the one hand and their release on the other, has been established, two more questions have to be answered satisfactorily. They are concerned with the obligation of the offices at both ends to obtain for applicant and employer all the information that is pertinent.

For data in regard to a vacancy the points suggested under Roman numerals I through V on pages 321–5 are minimum requirements. If emphasis in local placements was put upon getting complete information about the exact work to be done or the personal qualifications of suitable applicants, it must be obtained even more carefully in clearance. The points listed as "information

incidental to vacancy," including questions of industrial relations, housing facilities or cost of board and lodging, transportation arrangements, social environment, educational facilities for children, churches, reputation or references of employer, have their greatest force in clearance. In fact their transmission is as vital to successful transferral of applicants as is the information about the vacancy itself and about the required qualifications of applicants; and lack of success is as costly to industry as it is to workers.

Of course some occupations are less exacting than others as to advance data required. Unskilled or semi-skilled work usually calls for fewer details on both sides; but in proportion as skill and personality are requirements, and when permanency as against mere temporary or seasonal work is involved, the amount of information that may be exchanged is infinite. Success is absolutely dependent upon the thoroughness, according to the need in each case, with which it is done.

Personal and Human Element

Another general thought in regard to the clearance process is that it deals with human beings, not merchandise. The application of this fact is of great importance in local employment work and local clearing. But here the transaction is even more far-reaching; mistakes made are more costly. Moreover, a transfer involves the individual's whole social life and therefore brings out additional factors which must be reckoned with if success is to be attained. A thousand and one personal motives may lie behind an individual's decision to go to another town; and any one of them may change overnight so as to reverse the decision. Plans are all made at the employment office for a transfer—and the man's wife, for example, won't consent to his going! No definite rules can be laid down in connection with a man's transfer from one town to another, but every piece of machinery, every part of the transaction, must be conceived with the human factors in mind.

This is not an argument to gain consideration for the feelings and needs of applicants; such consideration is taken for granted. It is a warning that the whole process will fail in its social and industrial aims unless the personal interests, possibly even the idiosyncrasies and whims, of the individual are understood and taken

into account. This is true even in the "shipment" of laborers where there is the added necessity of understanding group and race psychology.

III. LONG DISTANCE CLEARANCE METHODS

The methods of long distance clearance employed in the United States and Canada show very little variation in essential particulars. Each state or province has been blazing its own trail and making its own mistakes and its own successes.

The stage reached is that of experimentation, and it has only been entered. Much will have to be done in the way of scientific study of the effectiveness of the various details of any scheme, merely to determine how to operate the machine effectively. An evaluation of the machine as an industrial and social instrument itself can only be made from the data furnished by its operation. Consequently any final conclusions are premature. The following discussion aims to make clear the methods that have been employed.

Long Distance Clearance In Ohio

Long distance clearance carried on in Ohio during the war will be described first, in order that variations may be discussed in relation to something definite. All local offices reported daily to the state clearing house in Columbus on forms provided for the purpose the vacancies which could not be filled locally and the applicants who could not be placed locally.[1] The investigation of local conditions was left entirely to the discretion and initiative of the local superintendent. He with the aid of his community labor board was also judge of the need for clearance in each particular case.

"Matching" and the Making Up of the Bulletin

The clearing house each day drew off all the items sent in by the various offices the preceding day and "matched" such orders and registrations as appeared to meet each other's requirements. The offices affected by this matching were at once directed by wire to get into touch with one another. This the offices did, also by wire.

[1] See pages 418 and 419 for information given.

In many cases the transaction, as far as the clearing house was concerned, ended there.

The residue of "unplaced applicants" and "unfilled vacancies" was spread upon a bulletin which was mimeographed and mailed in time to reach all offices on the following morning. For each vacancy it listed (1) the serial number of the item; (2) the code or initial of the office which had the vacancy; (3) the number wanted; and (4) a concise statement of conditions, wages, and requirements as reported by the local office. Note that employers' names and addresses were omitted. Each vacancy listed was given a serial number beginning J–1, J–2, J–3, and so on. The letter J is the symbol for a "job." The following are examples of listed vacancies taken from an Ohio bulletin near the end of the war:

Serial number	*Office*	*Number wanted*	*Requirements and data*
J–47	L	15	*Toolmakers:* white steady job, 60 cents to 75 cents an hour; 9 hours a day; board $7.00 to $8.50 a week.
J–50	L	10	*Machinists:* steady job; 55 cents to 60 cents an hour; 9 hours a day. This is very important government work. Firm building cartridge-making machines. Want superintendents to put forth every effort to get these men. Get in touch with Lima superintendent as soon as you have applicants.
J–74	C	100	*Apple Pickers* (for Ohio River district) Lawrence and Gallia Counties. 30 cents an hour. Camp accommodations can be arranged. Some can be cared for in apple growers' homes. Work lasts about six weeks.

Likewise unplaced applicants were listed. The items were serially numbered A–1, A–2, and so on. The letter A is the symbol for an applicant just as J above is for a job. The following were taken from the bulletin of September 25, 1918:

A–1	MT	*Architect and Draftsman,* willing to do work any place. Minimum wages $125 a month. Government work preferred.

A–5	S	*Proofreader and typist,* single; 44 years of age; union scale.
A–17	2	*A No. 1 Railroad Blacksmith Foreman,* married; 45 years of age; wages $200 a month. Master mechanic and general contractor. Can give best of references.

The items, both orders and registrations, followed one another on the bulletin in chance order with no attempt at occupational classification.

The bulletin at first was issued once a week with daily additions and corrections. All offices were requested to check up and to include on their clearance reports for Saturday all the items which were subject to clearance in their office on that day, without regard to whether any of those items had been inserted in the bulletin previously. On Monday these complete lists of items from all offices were made up into the bulletin for that day. Items began their serial numbering at A–1 and J–1. A list was made up on Tuesday which contained only the new items which had originated in the offices since Saturday's reporting. The serial numbering of items continued from where it had stopped on Monday's bulletin, beginning with the next higher number, J–number—— and A–number——; and so on each day through the week, additions or corrections were made until Saturday called for a new inventory and Monday began a new bulletin. The sheets of the bulletin including the daily additions were also serially numbered beginning with the first page on Monday's bulletin, but were dated as they appeared. In the local offices the sheets of the bulletin were filed consecutively upon a Shannon file or in a loose-leaf book.

The definite period of a week as the life of one bulletin was later dropped, the clearing house continuing to add to and to correct the last bulletin until, at its discretion, a new bulletin was ordered. Sometimes a bulletin was allowed to run for a month at a stretch as it did in October, 1918.

Direct Contact Between Offices

Upon receipt of the clearing house bulletin each local office was at liberty to get into immediate communication with any other office listed. It was done by telegraph, telephone, or mail, depend-

ing upon the urgency of the case. Either the vacancy office or the registration office was free to take the initiative. In such communication a more complete exchange of data was made and specific questions were answered. If both offices were satisfied that a transfer was advisable, the name and address of the employer was given by the office having the vacancy, and arrangements were at once made as to trains and other details. In all cases each local office made a prompt report to the clearing house of the result of such communication with any other office.

General instructions to all offices forbade the sending of any men until the two offices in question had got into direct communication and the transfer was specifically agreed upon between them. It was impressed upon local superintendents that failure to do this meant great suffering to applicants who might be shipped to a vacancy which had just been filled. Note that the communication was between offices, not between one office and the employer unless by special arrangement.

Cancellation of Items

Some orders which appeared on Monday's bulletin were often practically filled by Monday night; likewise applications. It was quite necessary that the other offices be immediately informed of this in order that further inquiries on those items might be prevented. To accomplish this each office which found during the day that any item listed on the bulletin at its request had for any reason become inactive, noted the fact on its report to the clearing house that night. When the clearing house made up its bulletin the next day, it added to the last page a list of those orders, by serial number and code of the original office, to be "cancelled" at once. For example, this cancellation order appeared on the Ohio bulletin for October 18, 1918:

Cancel

J–68 Z
J–96 Y
J–99 H
J–104 H
J–110 CL
A–10 TL
A–19 S

Upon receipt of this list local offices turned to the pages of the clearance volume and crossed off with a pencil the items ordered cancelled, the serial number being sufficient identification. Thus the "growing" of the clearance volume meant the daily addition of new items and the daily cancellation of previously listed items which had become inactive.

Use of Mail, Telephone, and Telegraph

In the case described the mail was entirely depended on for the notifying of the clearing house of new vacancies, new applicants or of cancellations, thus bringing the information to the clearing house one day old. As a matter of fact, all offices were privileged to use the telephone and telegraph in urgent cases in order to get items on the bulletin which was being made up the same day. Further, the clearing house directed additions to the bulletin, and also cancellations by wire. The local offices made the indicated additions or changes on their file accordingly, and then confirmed the telegram by the bulletin received next morning. By the use of the telegraph and telephone in this way, two offices in opposite ends of the state were often directed to communicate with each other on items which originated in each during that same day. In fact much of the effective clearing done was by telephone.

Another feature of the Ohio procedure was the apportioning of large orders for war workers among the offices of the state and the direction of the recruiting of those workers by means of the clearance machinery.

In Ohio the local superintendents considered the above system to be theoretically perfect, but emphasized two or three difficulties. The most vexing one was that of vacancies being "filled" by the time the bulletin reached the offices. Either the system was too slow, or else great enough caution was not exercised in listing vacancies that might be filled locally. Sometimes superintendents failed to check up and cancel vacancies, which remained "listed until canceled" and so inquiring offices were disappointed. The other great complaint was of the meagerness of data furnished on the bulletin.

Variations or Additional Features

Thus far the discussion has assumed that the state will be the unit of employment administration and, therefore, that clearance schemes will be first intra-state and then national or interstate. As pointed out earlier, the suggestion of a regional organization without regard to state lines does not seem feasible in the United States at present.

In general the scheme for clearance used in Ohio closely resembles the methods used in other states and in the eastern provinces of Canada. However, local conditions and different leadership have directed experiments which vary in certain details. In Ohio the state was considered as a clearance unit. An order that could not be filled in Cleveland was placed on the bulletin which reached every other city in the state simultaneously, and any two cities were free to clear at once.

Local Clearance Districts Within a State

Certain of the states and provinces have planned to subdivide their territory into smaller clearance areas. The Province of Ontario, for instance, has been divided into six districts, each with a main office and a varying number of minor offices. At the time of our investigation there was a supervising officer in charge of each of the six districts who was responsible for clearing between his own offices and for reporting the resultant items only to the provincial clearing house. Thus, instead of clearing between 35 offices, as would have been required by the Ohio clearing system, the central office in Toronto cleared between six districts or local clearance offices only. This idea has not yet had sufficient test but is theoretically sound. It enforces local adjustment over a fairly large district, and between four or five offices in one industrial section of the state or province before other sections are drawn upon.

Moreover, the difficulties of clearing are simplified when each clearance jurisdiction, local and state, deals with a smaller number of units. Between offices in different sections of the province clearing was slower than in Ohio; but between offices in the same section clearing can be carried on by telephone, hourly when necessary. It carries out the principle of clearing more intensively and

more completely in inverse ratio to the distance between the offices concerned; first, there is the district clearance area with distances comparatively short and telephone cost low; then state clearance followed by national clearance between states.

Development of District Idea in Ontario

Ontario's experience before arriving at the six clearance districts is instructive. At first all 35 offices reported directly to the provincial clearing house in Toronto. In order to prevent transfers over unnecessarily long distances, offices were forbidden to get into direct communication with one another until they received specific directions. The bulletin was made up much as in Ohio, but each office which wished to learn about an item listed was obliged to wire or write the clearing house and get specific permission. This was intended to allow the clearing house to select the one of two or more offices applying for the same item.[1] The mechanism of this centralized scheme was soon found to be too cumbersome. It was not flexible enough, was not intimate enough, gave local offices the feeling of being bound up in red tape, and even with the best co-operation on their part, was too slow if information about a single item had to be repeated to two or three offices. As a result, Ohio's practice of allowing offices to communicate directly with one another and report later to the clearing house was adopted.

This worked more flexibly, but the clearing house lost the power to choose, on the basis of broad social policy, the offices which should have the first opportunity to fill each vacancy. The district plan, which was adopted partly for clearance and partly for general administrative ends, in a measure makes up for the loss of control by the clearing house and aims to ensure that the section of a province nearest to an order or an application has been thoroughly canvassed before other sections are approached. With each of the six districts the central clearing house can keep in very close contact and can respond at once in a way that it could not when there were 35 clearing units.

[1] None of the long distance clearance schemes seems to have adopted the doubtful expedient of concealing the identity of the offices which placed items on the bulletin as a means of compelling local offices to communicate with the clearing house before getting in contact with one another.

Clearance Between Border Cities

An unsolved administrative problem in connection with clearance areas is the relation of two offices which are near each other but in different clearance jurisdictions—often nearer each other than either office is to offices of its own state or group. New York and Jersey City, Buffalo and Erie, Ottawa and Hull, are illustrations. Theory says that the clearing director of each area shall be consulted and that these two directors shall each give permission to clear a particular vacancy. Common sense demands a working understanding between the heads of all clearance areas which will allow the border offices to clear directly. Of course definite rules must be worked out and methods of reporting insisted upon. In the past the general rules have not allowed for this local interchange, but in practice those rules have been broken and the infraction winked at. Gradually the general rules will specifically provide for this local border clearing.

Widespread Use of Cumulative Bulletin Idea

Where a daily bulletin is desired the cumulative form for weekly periods has gained wide favor. The indefinite period used in Ohio was not found in use elsewhere. The *National Clearing House Gazette* of Great Britain is issued on Friday of each week. It is supplemented and certain items are cancelled daily until the next Friday's "newspaper" starts anew. For Canada, an order (circular No. 32, dated January 30, 1920) provided that "on and after February 23rd, 1920, a complete Provincial Clearance Bulletin will be issued only once a week, on Saturday morning. In addition, daily supplements will be issued covering new items and cancellations as advised by Employment Offices."

Posting of Clearance Bulletins

The Employment Service of Canada, in its circular No. 25 of August 6, 1919, gives the following direction: "On receipt of the bulletins they should be displayed in the office and information given to applicants for whom local jobs are not available, as to applicants in other zones." This regulation has since been withdrawn. The principle involved is important. The bulletins were

regularly posted in the local offices on the theory that applicants might be stimulated to inquire at the desk for out-of-town jobs, when otherwise they might go out empty-handed. As we see it, this is using the bulletin merely as a prepared poster or "publicity" card to entice customers; a sort of show-window effort very valuable in itself but not the primary purpose of the bulletin, for, as a poster it should not be confined to the out-of-town jobs. In fact, it would seem that any such emphasis should be given to local jobs first, with the further word that "there are many out-of-town jobs on file at the desk" thrown in. That the clearing bulletin itself could not be satisfactorily used for this purely local office purpose became evident to the officials of the various provinces and later orders forbade such use.

Ontario's Experience with the "Key"

Instructive is the evolution of the Ontario bulletin before the above conclusion was reached. As it was first issued, the names of employers were omitted. It soon developed that time was being lost when offices communicated with the clearing house about an item only to find that the applicant "wouldn't work for that company." Local superintendents asked to have employers' and applicants' names accompany each item as an integral part of the information given. This request was complied with. Immediately when employers' names were posted on the bulletin boards of the local offices it was found that applicants often applied directly to the employer without inquiring at the interview desk at all. Again, employers objected to having their labor demands made public; such a method would give no better service or different kind of service than they could get by frankly advertising in out-of-town newspapers over their own name.

To remedy this situation a new device was resorted to. The bulletin was issued without employers' names as it had been originally, but accompanying it was a "key" which listed against the serial number of each item appearing on the bulletin the name and address of the employer or of the applicant concerned. The key was for the confidential use of the superintendent and interviewers, and the bulletin could then be posted. The recent decision not to

post bulletins makes them confidential in their entirety so that the separate issuing of the key is unnecessary.

The clearing house *Gazette* of Great Britain is marked "Confidential: for Official use only."

Classification of Items on Bulletin

The classification by industry and occupation of the items on clearance bulletins does not seem to have been carried out anywhere in the United States. Wisconsin, in a bulletin of February 21, 1919, arranged the items alphabetically but no definite occupational terms were used; "Architect," "Dredging," "Mechanic Shipyard," and "Sizing Tobacco" occurred in the same list. Beginning in January, 1919, the Province of Ontario has arranged the items on its bulletin by industries and occupations in accordance with the classifications used in the statistical reports of the Employment Service of Canada, which are described on page 496. As for Great Britain, a note on the first sheet of each issue of the *National Clearing House Gazette* makes the following explanation:

"The vacancies advertised herein are arranged, within the sections, firstly, by Trades in strict order of sub-classifications as shown in the list of Occupations (with index and Key); secondly, by the N. C. H. Code numbers of Exchanges, as shown in the list of Revised Clearing Areas; and thirdly, by the Order Numbers within Exchanges within Divisions.

"Thus all the orders for one type of workman within several sections are brought together by Exchanges and Clearing Areas.

"The Separate sections of the Newspapers: (1) Men; (2) Special Vacancies for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors; (3) Index orders for which discharged Soldiers and Sailors will be accepted; (4) Women (except agricultural vacancies); (5) Juveniles; and (6) Women's Agricultural Vacancies."[1]

The advantage to a local office in having the occupations classified and grouped is evident; especially when a single day's bulletin of vacancies runs to 20 pages with 95 items, as it did in Ohio on September 24, 1918, or to 11 pages with 122 items as it did in Ontario on November 19, 1919. As these bulletins were issued it would have been necessary to go over page after page of items of all kinds to find the few which called for carpenters.

[1] Bulletin No. 13, Vol. IV, March 28, 1919.

When standard trade specifications, such as were developed by the Trade Test Division of the Committee on Classification of Personnel of the United States Army, or the "Description of Occupation" prepared by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for a limited number of trades, have been placed at the disposal of the employment service the problem of classification and of definition in the bulletin will be made much easier. In fact, description of processes and uniform definition of terms will make the use of a code sufficient to indicate the kind of worker wanted in the standard trades, and only variations from the description would be necessary. Of course this would not affect the listing of other data required.

The Manager of Clearance for Ohio did make a suggestion to his offices that would have helped if they had carried it out. Under his direction in the clearing house a mimeographed copy of the bulletin just as it went to the offices was cut up into items, each item being pasted separately on a 6 by 4 inch card. The cards were then filed in a tray card file, arranged occupationally in accordance with the classification used in the reports. As the "bulletin" accumulated new items each day, new cards were inserted; as items were cancelled, cards were withdrawn. By this means the clearance manager could respond immediately to a telephone request for vacancies for carpenters because all the carpenters were filed together under his hand. If each of the local offices had followed the suggestion to make a card file bulletin by clipping and pasting, the need for classification or grouping of items would have been solved. But unfortunately most of the offices were so overworked that this simple device was not indulged in.

Question of Jurisdiction in Applying for Workers

A question of jurisdiction and of clearance is raised when an employer applies for help directly at an office in a district other than the one in which his work-place is situated. Of course as a matter of instruction to the employer, he is tactfully asked if he has applied at his local office, and the clearance system is explained to him. It seems best, however, that his order be taken. It is a principle of clearance, nevertheless, that the local office nearest a vacancy and the officers in charge of clearance for it be notified and their consent gained before men are recruited and shipped from a

more distant office. Usually this has been done by wire and often permission is granted. Sometimes the reply comes back, however, that "we can furnish such applicants locally." When this happens the office must explain the whole situation to the employer and advise him to apply nearer home and offer to transmit his order and start the recruiting there at once.

If he refuses to wait on such "red-tape methods" the system faces a dilemma. In Canada they have decided to lose a particular order rather than to break a fundamental principle. Nevertheless, they do attempt to cut down formality in the hope that for his next need the employer will place his order locally and allow the clearance system to extend out in ever widening circles for men, thus reaching and importing the nearest supply only. There seems no final solution to this problem save that which knowledge of ideals and regulations of the service, together with tactful administration, can give.

IV. SPECIAL FORMS FOR LONG DISTANCE CLEARANCE

The most important forms used for long distance clearance are: (1) forms on which local offices report orders and registrations to the clearing house, (2) form of the bulletin itself, (3) forms for the clearing house to use in directing two offices to communicate with each other in specific cases, and (4) the "matching sheet" for use in the clearing house.

Reporting of Clearance Requests

The State of Ohio contributed the first complete forms used in the United States for reporting clearance requests to the clearing house. These were adopted in almost identical form by the United States Employment Service as Emp. 9 and Emp. 10, reproduced on pages 429 and 430.

A criticism of these two forms was that the listing of information in the columns under the headings indicated was likely to be limited to very short answers, and answers confined to subjects suggested in the headings. In an attempt to correct this defect the Employment Service of Canada adopted the forms reproduced on pages 431 and 432.

Emp. 9

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

REPORT OF APPLICANTS NOT PLACED AND WILLING TO LEAVE THE CITY

City .....

Date ..... Superintendent .....

NAME OF APPLICANT	PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION	OTHER EXPERIENCE	Single, married, or widowed	Age	Sex	Color	Minimum wage demanded	Do you recommend applicant?	Limit applicant can pay for transportation

INSTRUCTIONS: Fill out this report daily and send in with daily report. When registering applicants, be sure to ask if willing to leave the city and enter answer on the card. Before dismissing applicants, after failure to place them, ask for those willing to leave locality. Report only those willing to leave. This report must show the situation at the close of the day, the latest canceling all previous reports on this form; all applicants, whether previously reported or not, should be included hereon.

14—1304

To Report on Unplaced Applicants for Clearance—United States Employment Service

Used in Ohio to report unplaced applicants to the state clearing house. It is only fairly adequate. Size 8 by 10½ inches.

Emp. 16

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

REPORT OF ORDERS FOR HELP UNFILLED AND IMPOSSIBLE TO FILL LOCALLY

City .....

Date ..... Superintendent .....

KIND OF WORK	Number wanted	Probable wages	Hours	Sex	Color	Age limit	Duration of job	Latest date for filling order	Amount employer will provide for transportation	Probable cost of board

INSTRUCTIONS: Fill out this report daily and send in with daily report. Report only those orders which will allow sufficient time to transfer applicants and obtain all of the information requested. If necessary, use more than one line in giving details of orders. 16—1393

To Report Vacancies for Clearance—United States Employment Service

Used to report unfilled vacancies to the state clearing house. The data it requires and permits are too rigid and too limited. Size 8 by 10½ inches.

Sheet No.....

REPORT OF

VACANCIES UNFILLED

AND IMPOSSIBLE TO FILL LOCALLY

Employment Office at..... **Province of Ontario** **Date**.....

KIND OF WORK A	Number Wanted B	Probable Wages C	PER HR., DAY, MO., OR MTH. D	Sex E	Duration of Employment F	REMARKS (Board, Transportation and other Conditions) G

Use this form to report vacancies impossible to fill locally.
Mail to Provincial Clearing House.

No. of Sheets in this Report.....
Prepared by.....
Approved by..... SUPERINTENDENT
Ontario Employment Service.

E. O. 28. Vacancies unfilled and impossible to fill locally

To Report Vacancies to the Clearing House—Employment Service of Canada. Early Form

Used to notify the Clearing House of unfilled vacancies. Size 8 by 10 inches. It is better than form No. 10 used by the United States Employment Service (see page 430) but is still not adequate.

Sheet No.....

DAILY REPORT

APPLICANTS UNPLACED
AND WILLING TO LEAVE LOCALITY

Employment Office at.....**Province of Ontario. Date**.....

KIND OF WORK A	Number B	Sex C	REMARKS (Wages, Board and Transportation) D

Use this form to report Applicants impossible to place locally.
Mail to Provincial Clearing House.

No. of Sheets in this report.....
Prepared by.....
Approved by.....
SUPERINTENDENT

E.O. 29. Applicants unplaced and willing to leave locality. Ontario Employment Service.

To Report Unplaced Applicants for Clearance—Employment Service of Canada. Early Form

Used to notify the clearing house of unplaced applicants. Size 8 by 10 inches.

These forms cut down the number of columns with specific headings, and indicated plainly that *all* pertinent information was desired in the last column under "Remarks."

The use of columns in all four of the above forms indicates that one sheet is expected to carry several items, although it is understood that a single item may use as much space vertically as it needs.

Considerable criticism has been directed to all four of these forms on the ground that they did not give enough information; that there was a tendency tersely to put down just what the column headings called for, and no more. A study of hundreds of items on various bulletins confirms the criticism. In an effort to overcome this defect the Employment Service of Canada has adopted two new forms which it put into use during February, 1920. They are based on British forms used for the same purpose and provide a separate sheet for each vacancy or applicant (or group of applicants) reported. They indicate more specifically the detail with which each item must be set forth. In our judgment they serve the purpose better than any others used in either the United States or Canada. We reproduce them on pages 434 and 435.

The State of Wisconsin adopted an interesting variation from the use of forms Emp. 9 and 10, printed on pages 429 and 430. It substituted for them the regular registration card and employer's order card. The reason for this substitution is stated in a memorandum on clearance dated January, 1919:

". . . . the use of Emp. 9 and 10 was discontinued on the 21st of this month and forms Emp. 3 and 4 substituted in their place. . . . The impracticability of Forms 9 and 10 for use in the State Clearing House prompted this office to inaugurate the above method. A conveniently accessible, accurate, reliable and up-to-date file could not be installed and maintained because of the size and flexibility of Forms 9 and 10. . . . When an employer lists requirements covering more than one occupation, separate cards are executed for each specific occupation and filed in the State Clearance Office alphabetically and cross filed according to occupation."

A point not made in the above memorandum is that Forms 9 and 10 are each designed to carry several items on a sheet, thus preventing occupational filing even if folders were used to hold the large sheets. Of course the purpose of this form is to bring the in-

REPORT OF APPLICANTS UNPLACED AND WILLING TO LEAVE LOCALITY

Bulletin No......

Expiry Date.....

Employment Office at.....*Province of*.....

Kind of Worker.....

1. Number of workers available.	2. Kind of work wanted.
*3. Also willing to work at.	*4. Full details of experience.
*5. Where will, or will not go.	6. Minimum wages acceptable.
*7. Union or Non-union.	*8. Limit can pay for transportation.
*9. Sex. Age. Race or Nationality.	*10. Personality and Education.
11. Any likelihood of local demand for this applicant in near future.	*12. Name and address of Applicant.

*** In listing groups of applicants, this question to be disregarded**

Ordinary transfers of individuals should be made by referring to the vacancies listed on Clearance Bulletin rather than listing the applicant. Report on this form exceptional workers such as jewellers, fur-cutters and all Professional and Business applicants; also groups of applicants such as farm, bush and construction laborers if they cannot be absorbed locally. Forward to Provincial Clearing House. Keep carbon copy on fyle. Applicants will appear on Clearance Bulletin until expiry date only; at the end of that period the entry will be cancelled unless notified again. If applicants wholly or partially should be placed or otherwise unavailable before expiry date, notify cancellation to Provincial Clearing House so that Clearance Bulletin may be amended accordingly.

Date issued.....19.....

.....

Superintendent

E. O. 29. Report of Special Applicants unplaced and willing to leave locality
Employment Service of Canada.

To Report Unplaced Applicants for Clearance—Employment Service of Canada

Provides ample space for the data required and is well adapted to its purpose. Size 8 by 10 inches.

REPORT OF VACANCIES UNFILLED AND IMPOSSIBLE TO FILL LOCALLY

Bulletin No......

Expiry date.....

Employment Office of.....*Province of*.....

Kind of Worker.....

1. Number of workers required. (State sex required.)	2. Duration of employment.
3. Special qualifications required. (Physical, mental, age, etc.)	4. Precise nature of work to be done.
5. Wages and hours. (a) Are wages such as recognized as standard or current in the trade and district..... Yes or No.	6. Conditions other than wages and hours. (a) Are conditions such as are recognized as standard or current in the trade and district..... Yes or No.
7. Conditions re membership of Trade Union.	8. Transportation Arrangements.
9. Any other particulars (state whether any bad industrial relations exist).	10. Boarding and Housing Facilities, with Rates.
11. Location of Work and nearest Railway Station.	12. Name and Address of Employer.

Use a separate form for each Employer's Order. Forward to Provincial Clearing House. Keep carbon copy on file. This order will appear on Clearance Bulletin until expiry date only; at the end of that period it will be cancelled unless notified again. IF ORDER IS WHOLLY OR PARTIALLY FILLED BEFORE EXPIRY DATE, notify Provincial Clearing House so that Clearance Bulletin may be amended accordingly.

Date issued.....*19*.....

.....
Superintendent.

E. O. 28. Report of Vacancies unfilled and impossible to fill locally. Employment Service of Canada.

TO REPORT VACANCIES TO THE CLEARING HOUSE—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

Provides ample space for writing in special data under each heading. The form is well adapted to its purpose. Size 8 by 10 inches.

formation to the clearing house; convenience in filing after it gets there while important is a distinctly secondary consideration. Before Wisconsin's suggestion is adopted elsewhere the question should be faced as to whether the regular order and registration cards, which are drafted primarily for local use, are likely to suggest and require the extra information needed for clearance. We are of the opinion that special order and registration forms drafted especially for clearance on cards 8 by 5 inches in size, might serve all the purposes of Canada's new E. O. 28 and 29, reproduced on pages 434 and 435, and possess the added advantage that the cards would be convenient to file in a tray as was desired in Wisconsin. A card 8 by 5 inches can be drafted so as to give nearly as much actual writing space as E. O. 28 and 29, with the back of the card still available. Cards 8 by 5 inches in size are readily mailable in special envelopes.

Forms of Bulletin

In neither Canada nor the United States has the clearance bulletin itself been mimeographed on a set form. In each state or province a standardized method of presenting the data has been adopted, in a few instances being grouped in definitely headed columns; but usually there are no column headings. It is understood that the first column contains the code number, the next the office of origin, then the occupation, and so on as the case may be. This arrangement seems just as satisfactory as a form would be. In Great Britain items are printed in columns much as in the classified advertising columns of our newspapers.

We would suggest a departure from the type of bulletin which gives a number of items on each sheet, in favor of placing each item on a separate card. The reason for separate cards is similar to Wisconsin's reason for having offices report to the clearing house on order and registration cards, but the argument is very much stronger. The clearing house is a single office which presumably can be supplied with enough clerks to carry on necessary detailed routine when a whole system of offices is involved; local offices are usually understaffed and it is not feasible to place additional clerks in each one just for clearance. If by a little extra work in the clearing house, efficiency is attained in local offices, it is justified.

As bulletins are now issued without occupational classification

ORIGINAL
Mail to office where vacancy is on file

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

Clearing House at.....

If confirming telephone or telegraph message, state accordingly

Confirming telephone message	Check here
Confirming telegraph message	

..... *19*.....

To the Superintendent
Employment Office at.....

On your daily report of vacancies unfilled, and impossible to fill locally (E. O. 28) you notified the following :

On daily report of applicants unplaced and willing to leave locality (E. O. 29)

the Superintendent at.....
notifies the following :—

If these applicants appear suitable for your vacancies, please communicate with the Superintendent at the office where applications are on file.

Clearance Officer.

(Perforated)

DETACH THIS STUB AND MAIL TO CLEARING HOUSE WITHOUT DELAY

The following action was taken in regard to.....

Check items showing action taken

Vacancy filled..... Vacancy not filled.....
Applicants not available at time communication established..... Applicants not suitable.....

Other remarks.....

.....

.....

Signature.....
Superintendent.

E. O. 28—Advice from Clearing House to Employment Office—E.S.C.

ADVICE FROM CLEARING HOUSE TO EMPLOYMENT OFFICE—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA. ORIGINAL

Used by the Canadian Clearing Houses to direct local employment offices to get into touch with each other in regard to certain workers or vacancies. The blanks are used in triplicate, the one here shown being the original. On page 439 the duplicate is shown and on page 441 the triplicate. The upper portion of the three blanks is filled out at one writing through the use of carbon paper, the blanks lying on each other just as they do on the three pages here. This original is printed on white paper. Size (reduced here) is 8 by 10 inches.

of items it is, as has been said, very difficult for an interviewer to use them. His file of local orders is a card file, handily arranged and easily accessible. Presumably he offers each applicant, from his total stock of orders in town and out of town, the positions best suited to his need. Other conditions being anywhere near equal, a local position is presumed to be "best," but this fact is ascertained only by a consideration of both. The form of the bulletin has prevented easy comparison. In too many offices the busy interviewer glances it over in the morning for a moment and forgets the items listed; the difficulty of using it is too great. His attention for the day is given to his local orders. Classification of items in the bulletin will help very greatly, but still the effort to use a large sheet or a number of sheets is great. If the clearing house could put each of the bulletin's items on separate 6 by 4 inch cards which would go into the active occupational file on the interviewer's desk, the attention given them and their consequent use, in our opinion, would be inestimably stimulated. These cards should be distinctively colored.

An advantage to the clearing house might be the ability to select the offices to which certain items would be sent in a way that is not easy when all items are mimeographed uniformly on sheets. The physical problem of reproducing the items on separate cards is a real one, but there are several commercial devices on the market that will do it. Cards could be readily mailed in packets. This method has not been tried and would of course need preliminary testing.

Directions to Clear From Clearing House

The Employment Service of Canada has worked out a form (E. O. 25) in triplicate for use in directing local offices to get into touch with one another. The original form is mailed to the office where the vacancy is on file, the duplicate to the office where the registration is on file, and the triplicate is retained as a record in the clearing house. The original and duplicate have stubs attached upon which the local offices are required to report results. The forms are shown on pages 437, 439 and 441, and will explain themselves.

DUPLICATE
Mail to office where application is on file

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

Clearing House at.....

If confirming telephone or telegraph message, state accordingly

Confirming telephone message	Check here
Confirming telegraph message	

..... 19.....

The Superintendent
Employment Office at.....

has advised the Clearing House on Form E. O. 28 of the following vacancies which he is unable to fill locally:—

Your office at..... has notified on Form E. O. 29 the following applicants unplaced and willing to leave locality :—

If these applicants appear suitable the Superintendents at the office where the vacancies are on file will communicate with you, and you should be in readiness to give full information. If a transfer is to be effected the special transportation rate (Form E. O. 30) may be granted. Do not send applicants until requested to do so by office where vacancy exists.

Clearance Officer.

(Perforated)

DETACH THIS STUB AND MAIL TO CLEARING HOUSE WITHOUT DELAY

The following action was taken with regard to.....
Check items showing action taken

Applicants transferred..... (State number) Applicants not available.....

Applicants not called for by vacancy office .....

Applicants not suitable.....

Special rate certificate No.....

Other Remarks .....

Signature.....
Superintendent.

E. O. 28—Advice from Clearing House to Employment Office.

ADVICE FROM CLEARING HOUSE TO EMPLOYMENT OFFICE—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA. DUPLICATE

This is the duplicate of three blanks used by the Canadian Clearing Houses to direct local employment offices to get into touch with each other in regard to certain workers or vacancies. On page 437 the original is shown and on page 441 the triplicate. The upper portion of the three blanks is filled out at one writing through the use of carbon paper, the blanks lying on each other just as they do on the three pages here when this volume is closed. This duplicate is printed on pink paper.

Clearing House Matching Sheet

Several clearing houses have worked out "matching sheets" for use in the clearing house in assembling cleared items and placing in juxtaposition on the sheets those offices which report vacancies and those which report applicants in each occupation, preliminary to the sending out of directions to local offices to communicate with one another. On page 443 is reproduced form E. O. 26 used in Canada for this purpose.

V. NATIONAL CLEARANCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Most of our discussion of long distance has had to do with clearance within a state, assuming that the state would be a unit. The problem of national clearance is still not solved. Mr. Lescohier sums up the question well:

> The national clearing house will probably never play as intimate a part in placement in America as the state clearing house. Its principal function will probably consist in its intimate knowledge of employment conditions in every part of the country and its bulletins of information transmitting that knowledge to the several states. It will function in placement only when large enterprises in some particular locality are unable to secure enough men within their own state, and the state clearing house requests the national to discover men for it in other localities; or in periods of unemployment when it may be able to direct men who are idle to opportunities of employment in other states. Its method of functioning will necessarily be the same as that of the state office. It will direct the attention of the clearing house of a state with unfilled labor needs, to the clearing house of the particular state or states which are able to fill those needs and then allow the two state officers to arrange the detail of the hiring and transfer of the men between themselves.[1]

This paragraph describes fairly well the aim of the United States Employment Service during and immediately after the war. By means of telegrams it directed the attention of federal directors to shortages of labor in other sections of the country and asked for aid in supplying them. Later it issued a general bulletin which,

[1] Lescohier, Don D.: The Labor Market, p. 231.

TRIPLICATE
To be retained on file at Clearing House

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

Clearing House at.....

If confirming telephone or telegraph message, state accordingly

Confirming telephone message	Check here
Confirming telegraph message	

..... *19*.....

Employment Office at.....

reports following vacancies on Form E. O. 28.

Employment Office at .....
reports following applicants on Form E.O. 29.

This triplicate should be retained on file until reports of action taken are received from both offices. After 5 days if report stub is not returned a follow-up letter should be sent asking for return of stub. When stubs are received they should be pinned to this form and after entry on record for weekly report, this form with attachments should be filed.

List below date of any follow-up letter sent.

Remarks :—

E. O. 25—Advice from Clearance House to Employment Office.

ADVICE FROM CLEARING HOUSE TO EMPLOYMENT OFFICE—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA. TRIPLICATE

This is the triplicate of three blanks used by the Canadian Clearing Houses to direct local employment offices to get into touch with one another in regard to certain workers or vacancies. On page 437 the original is shown, and on page 439 the duplicate. The upper portion of the three blanks is filled out at one writing through the use of carbon paper, the blanks lying on each other just as they do on the three pages here. This triplicate is printed on light blue paper.

under each definite occupational heading, listed the states reporting either a shortage or a surplus and the extent of either. The first occupation listed on September 20, 1919, was agriculture and appeared as follows:

Agriculture	*Applicants*	*Positions*
Arizona	..	10
Arkansas	3	..
California	8	75
Colorado	20	..
Idaho	100	..
Indiana	..	4
Iowa	Indef.	..
Louisiana	250	..
Maryland	..	40
Massachusetts	..	28
Montana	1,000	..
and so on.		

The following warning was placed on the first page:

This bulletin is not a statement of labor surplus or shortage in a state as a whole. It is a compilation from the records of this Service, showing the applicants for jobs that cannot be placed within their State and the positions open that cannot be filled within the State. It is, therefore, limited in its scope and indicates merely the trend of employment conditions.

For interprovincial clearance all Canada has been divided for geographical reasons into two parts; the Eastern Clearing House at Ottawa serves Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes, while the Western Clearing House at Winnipeg serves the western provinces. Each of these clearing houses issues a monthly bulletin, which in form is much like the bulletin issued by the provinces. Items are placed upon it at the request of any one of the provincial clearing houses, the manner of the request being the following: A regular copy of each provincial bulletin is sent to the Eastern or Western Clearing House, as the case may be, and those items which the provinces feel cannot be satisfied at home are stamped "For Interprovincial Clearance." This simple checking, or stamping rather, of the items on the regular bulletin issued by a province requires very little clerical work, and it guarantees to the interprovincial

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
MATCHING SHEET

Entries on this sheet to be made from E. O. 28 and 29

Date.....19.....

Group	Occupation	OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE		OFFICE	
		Vacancies	Applications	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A

CLEARANCE MATCHING SHEET—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

Used by the Canadian clearing houses as an office convenience to sort or classify vacancies and applications. At best it only assembles on paper the demand for and the supply of various kinds of workers. Any practical adjustment between the two begins to be applied only after the matching-sheet process is completed.

clearing house that those items have actually been circulated in the province of origin before going further.

A detail of great interest in the handling of the eastern and western bulletins is the following regulation, placed at the head of each issue:

> Any superintendent able to satisfy items listed below may communicate directly with the office listing such items. . . . The receiving office should notify the Eastern Clearing House, Employment Service of Canada, Ottawa, immediately upon the arrival of the persons transferred. Copies of this notice should be mailed to the provincial Clearing Houses of the two provinces concerned and to the dispatching office.

In addition to the eastern and western bulletins, there is issued monthly the "Dominion Clearance Bulletin" which goes to all the provinces and contains those items which have been circulated in the east or the west and have failed of satisfaction. Furthermore, when employers decide that it is impossible to secure workers in the Dominion and request the Immigration Department to permit them to import workers from foreign countries, the Immigration Department first ascertains from the Employment Service whether or not it is true that such workers cannot be obtained in Canada. Such vacancies are listed in the Dominion clearance bulletin in the first instance on the ground that they have become of national if not of international significance by the action of the Immigration Department.

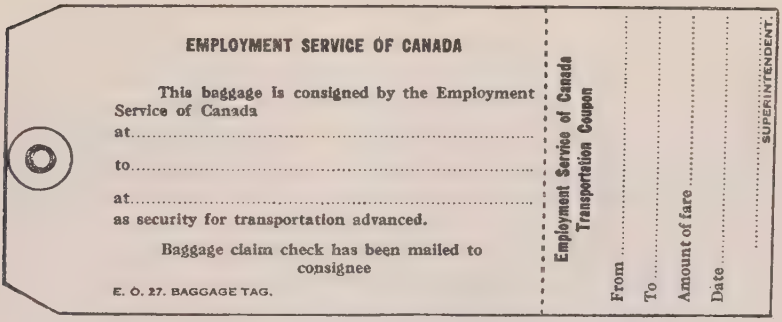
VI. LONG DISTANCE TRANSFERRAL

The actual sending of men to a distant vacancy, as the result of clearance, is spoken of as transferring them or as transferral. The significance of the term lies in the fact that they are being transferred to the jurisdiction of another office.

Individual applicants who pay their own transportation expenses rarely need any further service from the sending office than information as to train service and adequate directions. When transportation is being paid or advanced by the employer, however, some precautions are usually necessary to insure him against fraud. In the case of individuals or of small groups, the checking of substantial baggage and the mailing of the baggage check directly,

either to the employer or to the employment office from which the order was cleared, is the usual method. It has been used a great deal both in the United States and Canada in the distribution of farm-hands from the large cities. Many offices have refused for practical reasons to assist a man to a distant vacancy who could neither pay his own way nor produce baggage as a guarantee of good faith. Not that they assumed him to be incompetent or unreliable, but they confined their efforts in his behalf to vacancies nearer at hand.

The actual cash to buy transportation is rarely given to the applicant. Either by arrangement with the railroad an order for a ticket, which is signed by the superintendent of the office, is honored


EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

This baggage is consigned by the Employment Service of Canada

at.....

to.....

at.....

as security for transportation advanced.

Baggage claim check has been mailed to consignee

E. O. 27. BAGGAGE TAG.

Employment Service of Canada
Transportation Coupon

From.....

To.....

Amount of fare.....

Date.....

.....SUPERINTENDENT.

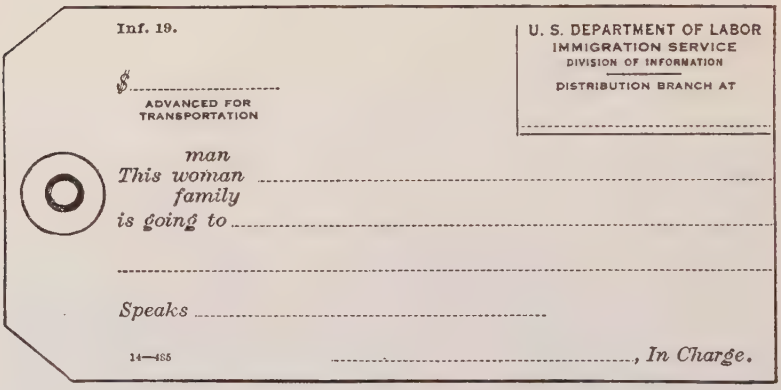
BAGGAGE TAG—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

Used for consigning baggage of workers being sent by the Employment Service to distant jobs.

at the ticket window, or a clerk from the office accompanies the applicant to the station and buys the ticket himself. Oftentimes the very satisfactory expedient of the clerk's boarding the train and placing the ticket in the hands of the conductor with appropriate explanation has been used. Above is reproduced the tag (form E. O. 27) attached to baggage checked under such circumstances by the Employment Service of Canada.

When larger groups of men are being transferred, and when the urgency of their safe arrival is great, the employer often furnishes an escort or "labor scout" who approves the selection of men in the local offices, takes them in a group to the station, furnishes

such food as may be necessary on the journey, buys all tickets, and then accompanies the group on the train and presents the tickets to the conductor. He fraternizes with the men to keep them in good humor, and is ever on the alert to prevent individuals from dropping off the train at way stations. Under the emergency of war the United States Employment Service had a member of its own staff accompany such transfers of men when they were to work on government contracts; in those cases government transportation requests were used. Whether in peace time the Employment Service should have a staff member perform this service is


Inf. 19.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION SERVICE
DIVISION OF INFORMATION
DISTRIBUTION BRANCH AT

$.....
ADVANCED FOR TRANSPORTATION

This man / woman / family is going to .....

Speaks .....

14—485 ....., In Charge.

DESTINATION TAG—UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION SERVICE

Used to assist non-English speaking applicants to reach their job or destination.

not in point here. If so, it would use much the same methods as employers do. It has been suggested that a revolving fund might be provided by the government to transport workers, particularly to the harvest fields and undertakings of like importance.

The Immigration Service of the United States Department of Labor used a tag, which is reproduced above, to show the destination of immigrants who could not speak English. It may offer a suggestion to the Employment Service.

When transportation is paid by the employer it is on one of two or three possible bases. The most usual one is the written or oral

agreement that the cost of the transportation shall be deducted from the wages of the employe and then refunded if one or two or three months of satisfactory service is performed, or if the employe is discharged within that time through no fault of his own. Lumber companies usually make such an agreement with the further offer of return fare if the whole season is worked out. Sometimes the fare is paid outright by the employer. Again, it is merely advanced and then deducted from wages with no refund at all. Of course combinations of these methods, by which the cost is equitably divided, are made by mutual agreement.

For the protection of all concerned it is suggested that the Employment Service draw up and furnish free of charge standard blank contracts, one for each of the usual plans. While the actual enforcement of an agreement between employers and employes is not primarily within the province of the Employment Service, still the failure to keep an agreement in any case where it has aided by transferring workmen is of grave concern to the Service. To prevent repetition of such failure, where possible, is the duty of the Service.

CHAPTER XXIV

PERSONNEL OF THE SERVICE

HOWEVER great a factor personnel may be in industry, it seems doubly great in a service organization whose business is entirely in terms of human relations. And human relations in one of their most vital aspects, employment! Nor is an employment service as is industry a triple alliance of "men, money and machines." Rather is it one hundred per cent men. It deals only with them and its product is service. Essential as it is, then, that those at the top engaged in carrying it on be qualified, it is even more essential that those at the bottom be qualified. If the interviewers do not know their business and perform it ineffectively, the structure breaks down in a vital part and an employment service becomes a superfluous institution.

The Personnel of the State and Municipal Offices

Unfortunately, in the past the staffs either at the bottom or at the top of most of the state and municipal employment offices in this country in many instances have not been such as to inspire confidence on the part of employers or workers. "The administration of the offices," stated Mr. Leiserson in 1914, "has been placed in the hands of people unfamiliar with their design and purpose. The officials have either mismanaged the offices so that they had to be discontinued or else they performed their duties perfunctorily and in a wholly ineffective manner."[1]

Methods of Selection

From 1890 to 1906 the personnel of practically all the state and city offices was appointive. A theory had developed that any state or city office, bearing at all on conditions of the working group, should fall to a labor union representative. Since organized labor usually promoted the establishment of the employment offices, it was only logical that the most essential qualification required of the superinten-

[1] Leiserson, W. M.: Public Employment Offices in Theory and Practice. *American Labor Legislation Review*, Vol. IV, p. 314, May, 1914.

dent and clerks was that they be sponsored by organized labor and by the political supporters of the administration in power.

Massachusetts was the first state to attempt the selection of her public employment office staff on a merit basis. The statute creating the offices provided that appointments be made by the chief of the Bureau of Statistics. The civil service commissioners, however, took the ground that they should be made in accordance with civil service regulation. But at the time the office was opened, December 15, 1906, there was no eligible list from which candidates could be chosen. Accordingly, the superintendent and chief clerk were given provisional appointments. In January, however, the commissioners established a special eligible list for the employment office service and held an examination.

In addition to Massachusetts, ten other states—New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, Colorado, Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio, California, Kansas, and Maryland—now make the personnel of their public employment offices subject to civil service requirements.[1] Some of these, however, exempt the state superintendent.

In all other states which maintain public employment offices, their personnel is still subject to appointment, usually by the chief of the department to which they are responsible.

Examination, both written and oral, is the accredited method employed by civil service commissioners to determine the comparative merits of candidates for appointment. The content of those examinations which have seemed most satisfactory has been determined by the commissions in co-operation with recognized leaders in public employment office work. Also in Wisconsin and New York the oral examinations have been personally administered by the Civil Service Commission in conjunction with the chief officer of the Employment Service, and at times with representatives of the local employment councils.

The first candidates for the state directorship of the New York offices were given a written examination by the Civil Service Commission. They were also required to submit a plan for the organization and administration of a state system of public employment offices. The oral examination for this position was conducted by

[1] See footnote, page 125, Chapter VI, Administrative Possibilities for a National System.

a committee representing the Civil Service Commission, the State Bureau of Labor, and experts on industry and employment.

The personnel of the New York state local offices has also been selected by this same method. The Civil Service Commission assisted by the director drafted the early written examinations for the various positions. The initial oral examination was conducted by a group made up of representatives of the Civil Service Commission, the director himself, and members of an advisory council. The group was in possession of the application schedules of the candidates and asked questions as to their education, general experience, interest, and motives in seeking the appointment, as well as to previous experience in interviewing, speechmaking, and visiting industrial plants. Each member of the examining group rated each candidate on the items specified in the schedule provided by the Civil Service Commission. The average gained by each candidate on all the items was accepted as the final rating in the oral examinations which counted 60 points. The written examination counted 40 points.

In California, candidates for the position of employment office manager and placement clerk at the time of our field investigation were given no written examination. In an oral interview they were examined by a board consisting of representatives of the Civil Service Commission and of the State Employment Bureau, and rated upon their total experience and also upon their particular performance. However, just prior to the oral interview, candidates were required to take a brief intelligence test, which, according to the chief examiner, has been of very great assistance in selecting the qualified from the unqualified.

The methods of selection practiced by state civil service commissions are yet far from satisfactory. Most of the commissions have not adequately defined the duties involved in the various positions nor the qualifications required for their adequate performance. Both of these are prerequisite to intelligent selection. Moreover, it is alleged that some of the commissions in their appointments have laid themselves open to charges of political preferment. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the methods of selection applied by state civil service commissions are vastly superior to those of the spoils system.

Tenure of Office

While the method of selection is a very large factor in securing an efficient personnel, it is only one factor. Certain other conditions of employment, namely, tenure of office, salaries, opportunity for promotion, are also significant.

Under the spoils system, the tenure of office of public employment office appointees, whether specified by statute or not, usually corresponds to that of the commissioner of labor, which in turn corresponds to that of the governor.

Of the tenure of office in Ohio prior to 1913 when a civil service commission was provided, Professor M. B. Hammond, first Industrial Commissioner of Ohio in charge of Public Employment Offices, writes:

" . . . it is likely that an important reason for the lack of interest shown by employers in the work of the offices was the feeling that politics played too large a part in the appointment of superintendents and clerks, and that officials considered that their political activities were more important than their work in finding employment for those seeking it.

"Practically every change in governors, even though the same party remained in power, carried with it a change in the officials in charge of employment offices."[1]

The probability, the practical certainty that appointments will last but a year or two; that any effort staff workers may make to develop the bureau will be nullified by their successors; and the knowledge that nobody expects them to do much, that they are merely filling political sinecures, certainly does not stimulate appointees to accept their responsibilities seriously or to magnify and dignify their positions.

Again, continuity of personnel, other things being equal, is desirable in any business, especially in an employment service, if any satisfactory degree of development or of service is to be achieved. A one hundred per cent turnover of its personnel periodically and simultaneously would wreck almost any business, particularly one like an employment service where methods of work and acquaintance with the clientèle are so important.

[1] Work of the Free Labor Exchanges of Ohio for the Year Ending June 30, 1915, Report No. 15. Department of Investigation and Statistics, The Industrial Commission of Ohio, Columbus. P. 14.

By making the tenure of office indefinite and conditional only upon efficient performance, the civil service commissions have aided inestimably both in securing a better qualified personnel and in stabilizing it.

Salaries

Not only have salaries, too, been subject to the disadvantages contingent upon being fixed by statute, but they have also been very low and incommensurate with the ability required. The original Ohio act specified that the salary of clerks should not exceed $50 a month, and that of superintendents be fixed by the city council of the city in which a bureau was located. By an amendment in 1902 the annual salary of superintendents was fixed at $1,200, and of clerks $600, both to be paid henceforth by the state; and by another in 1904, the salary of superintendents was increased to $1,500 and that of clerks to $720. Since the institution of the State Civil Service Commission in 1913 other more satisfactory adjustments have been made.

In 1906 the superintendent of the Boston office was paid a salary of $1,800; in 1921 he received $2,160.

In New York the state director in 1921 received $4,000; the superintendents of the local office, both men and women, from $1,800 to $2,500; assistant superintendents (men and women) $840 to $1,800; placement secretaries up to $2,500; inspector of employment offices, $3,000.

In Pennsylvania in November, 1922, the salary of the state director was $5,000, and by virtue of a contribution from the county, that of the superintendent of the Pittsburgh office, $4,000. The superintendent of the Philadelphia office, on the other hand, received but $3,000, and from $600 to $900 was paid the women employes in the smaller offices.

Though somewhat increased within the last five years, the salaries of state employment office employes are still appallingly inadequate. Until they are revised upward to meet those paid by private enterprise, little, if anything, can be expected in the way of intelligent placement service.

Summary

On the whole, experience has demonstrated that the method of selection and the conditions governing employment established by

state civil service commissions have succeeded in securing a public employment office personnel incomparably more efficient than that in the state offices where civil service regulations have not been adopted. It must not be assumed, however, that state civil service commissions are entirely satisfactory—far from it. Too frequently have the commissions themselves been understaffed and thus unable to undertake the research necessary to an adequate performance of their task. They are, however, moving in the right direction. The co-operation with the commission of a small committee of persons with a knowledge of employment service problems, as in California and New York, or with a sub-committee of a local council when the appointments are for local offices, as in Wisconsin, Ohio, and New York, marks an advance in methods of selection. But advance by much greater strides is to be expected from the efforts of the recently established Bureau of Public Personnel Administration of the Institute for Government Research. It has already done much in promoting the use of intelligent tests in the civil service. The United States Civil Service Commission and the Civil Service Commissions of San Francisco, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Massachusetts are now employing intelligence tests constructed by psychologists.[1]

The statutory fixing of the term of office of public employment service workers, and the other extreme, the periodic turnover of them under the spoils system, as well as very inadequate salaries, have militated against the development of an effective personnel by our state and municipal offices.

The Personnel of the United States Employment Service

Nor was the United States Employment Service able to establish or apply standards that made for an unmistakably qualified personnel. The limited number of persons with either public employment office or personnel management experience had been very largely absorbed either in private or other public employments by the time the United States Employment Service was projected. Also the wartime demand for workers of intelligence, even though without special training or experience, had been so overwhelming

[1] Thurstone, L. L.: Public Personnel Studies. Bureau of Public Personnel Administration of the Institute of Government Research, Washington, 1923.

and the compensation offered by private enterprise and other branches of public service so attractive that the Employment Service faced a shortage of even potentially qualified candidates. Thus the Service was forced to employ in large numbers not only workers who were inexperienced in employment office methods, but workers who lacked other of the essential qualifications for rendering intelligent service. It was inevitable that the organization as a whole should have been open to charges of inefficiency.

Methods of Selection

Since the machinery of the federal Civil Service Commission quite collapsed under the exigencies of wartime demand, power of appointment to the United States Employment Service when salaries were paid by the federal government was vested in the Secretary of Labor.

In the general administrative office of the Service in Washington, a special Personnel Division was created. Prior, however, to its establishment, the Director General himself, subject to confirmation by the Secretary of Labor, had selected all the more important workers on his staff whom he did not inherit from the Bureau of Information of the Immigration Service. Then, too, the federal directors of the various states were empowered to select their own corps of workers. Therefore, the Personnel Division was concerned with the selection of only the new and less important employes in the central administrative office. It was, however, responsible for all the record keeping concerned with the confirmation of appointments for the entire Service.

Inasmuch as the procedure governing salaries, absences, separations, and promotions was that practiced by all government departments, there was little opportunity for the Personnel Division to initiate policies.

In the state services the personnel was selected by one or more members of the Director's staff, or by the Director himself, all depending on the number to be employed. The necessity for speed precluded the use of tests or examinations of any kind; selection was based entirely upon interviews. Because the members of state advisory boards were scattered throughout the state, or if residing in the same city were too busy to give the necessary time actively to assist in the selection of personnel, they seldom more than per-

functorily confirmed the appointments recommended by the Director. Staff officers were almost invariably chosen by the Director himself, with the approval of the advisory board.

In many of the states it was one of the functions of the organizers, as representatives of the federal Director, to consult employers, labor, and civic associations in the various cities where they established offices as to candidates for positions therein. On the basis of the suggestions received, the organizers recommended to the federal Director those whom they thought most competent to discharge the duties involved.

The allegation has frequently been made that most of the employes of the United States Employment Service were either Democrats or trade union members, or both. Certainly a positive effort to insure appointment on a merit basis was made by the Service in instituting the state advisory boards. It must be acknowledged, however, that the advisory boards seldom took advantage of their opportunity to assist in the selection of personnel.

Altogether in the administrative positions there seem to have been quite as many Republicans as Democrats; and in the local offices, political affiliation, in spite of the multitude of letters from United States senators and representatives urging the employment of this or that person, had little weight in final appointments.

That there were trade union members among the federal directors is true. Some of the latter, who had previously served on the staff of the Commissioner of Immigration, belonged to the Federal Employes' Union. Then there were others who belonged to craft unions. On the other hand, there were also directors representative of employers' interests. Nor does it follow in either case, barring few exceptions that became more or less conspicuous, that the personal affiliation of any directors affected the neutrality of their public service.

That business agents of unions occupied positions in local offices of the Service is also true, but only in a very small percentage of cases. One of these instances, however, that at Seattle, was so spectacular that it supplied the opponents of union labor with the ammunition they were seeking to substantiate a charge against the entire Service of partisan administration.

In Seattle, shipbuilding was expanding to meet war needs. Throughout the country there had been an agreement in this in-

dustry that each yard was to continue during the remainder of the war period, "open" or "closed," according as it was open or closed at the time the United States entered the war. On that date the yards in Seattle were on a closed shop basis. Hence they were to remain closed. This meant that all labor to be employed was to be union labor.

The United States Employment Service in Seattle acted as the recruiting agent for all the war industries of Seattle, chiefly for shipbuilding, because of the latter's comparative importance and size. To recruit and examine applicants for work in the shipyards the service employed union men. "It seemed the only logical thing to do, in order to expedite referrals to the yards," stated one of the Employment Service executives. "Our only interest," he continued, "was to get the men the industry needed—as many and with as much speed as we possibly could." While much may be said to justify this procedure, it was open to just the kind of attack that was made upon it.

Salaries

The schedule of compensation for United States Employment Service appointees was determined in accordance with that already adopted by the federal Civil Service Commission. Many of those who volunteered their services in one capacity or another "to help win the war" were nominally appointed at one dollar a year.

The salaries of the local office personnel were considerably larger than those paid by the states which operated public employment offices. Indeed, the United States Employment Services subsidized many of the employes of the state services in order to retain them and in general to make salaries equable. But even so, the compensation fixed was far too low to attract the type of ability required. In comparison with the inflated salaries and wages offered by private employment, those of the United States Employment Service seemed most unattractive. The maximum salary for "senior examiners" or superintendents was less than $2,500. Even more inadequate was the compensation attached to the chief executive positions both in the central administrative office and in the field service. The shortcomings of compensation, however, were to some degree offset by the attractiveness of the work in an employment service *per se*, which was at the same time public service and war service.

Training

Where time permitted and in some of the states where a state system of offices had already been established, new employes of the wartime service were required to spend a minimum period in observation and in practice in one or more of the older offices. Here experienced examiners were designated to supervise them. Under the circumstances only an informal and hurried program was possible.

After the armistice the central administrative office created a training section. As soon as it had organized its procedure it began to hold normal training conferences of two weeks' duration to which the federal directors in selected sections of the country were requested to send at least one man and one woman representative in order that they might reproduce the conference in their respective states when they got back home.

The group at each conference numbered about thirty. Lectures, personal conferences with members of the staff, and round-table discussions, carefully planned, constituted the method pursued. Every phase of local office work was analyzed and discussed.

A manual was drafted, and after embodying the suggestions of those to whom it was submitted, was revised but never published. Nor had all the sections of the country had an opportunity to send representatives to the conferences before they were discontinued. However, several states which had participated did reproduce similar conferences for their own personnel. These proved most instructive and stimulating. Moreover, they were extremely effective in developing an esprit de corps.

Summary

Altogether, the exigencies of a wartime labor market and the necessity of organizing on a large scale on very short notice determined the personnel of the United States Employment Service. Even if it had been possible to draw up specifications for each position in the Service, to employ the best judges available to make selections, and to pay larger salaries, it is doubtful if in the beginning, without a special recruiting division which would actually have stolen workers from other organizations, much better results could have been attained.

Essentials in an Adequate Employment Service Personnel Policy

It is evident that much remains to be done if a public employment service in this country is to attract, develop, and retain a thoroughly competent personnel. But this is not a problem which can be considered alone. It is an integral part of the whole problem of those engaged in public work whether for the federal, state, or local governments. And as students of this question have pointed out, the first requisite in a sound governmental personnel policy is the *creation by the states and larger municipalities, which have not already provided them, of civil service commissions; and the delegation to them of sufficient power to enable them adequately to perform the functions of a centralized personnel department for their respective unit of government.* The civil service commissions already established have been greatly handicapped by the limited authority conferred upon them and the even more limited funds at their command. To accomplish the larger and more positive interpretation of their purpose, the commissions must be vested with power commensurate with their responsibilities. They must be granted sufficient appropriations in order to provide adequate staffs. Moreover, the members themselves should receive compensation befitting their task and should be selected for their ability to perform it.

Essential elements in any civil service commission policy for recruiting, selecting, and developing an efficient personnel for an employment service, or for any other government service, are the following:

1. Definite specification of the duties involved in each position, namely, in that of the Director General and his staff assistants, that of State Director and staff assistants; also in those of the local office.[1]
2. Definite specification of qualifications required for appointment to positions, namely, education, experience and special training, disqualifying experience, age limits, sex, nationality, physical, mental, moral and emotional characteristics.[1]
3. Adoption of a schedule of compensation based on "duties and market value of services."
4. Definition of lines of promotion and grades in salary.

[1] See pages 459 to 463.

5. Institution of employment service personnel committees to function with civil service commissions.
6. Development and use of test and investigational methods that most effectively will determine the qualifications required; and the degree to which they are present in candidates for positions.
7. Provision for promotion, transfer, demotion, and separation on a merit basis.
8. Provision for training.
9. Provision for wide publicity of opportunities in the Service.

Occupational Specifications

Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the requirements just listed constitute the component parts of what is known as "occupational specifications or descriptions." This chapter would, indeed, be incomplete without some consideration of the specifications for the more important positions in a federal-state-local employment service.

The Director General

The responsibilities of the Director General of a wartime service would not be exactly identical with those of the Director General of a peace time service such as is here outlined. They are, however, of the same general nature. The difference is more one of degree than of kind. The following specifications adapted from the Report of the Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries[1] have their basis in experience. They are offered here as suggestive. In no sense are they absolute or complete.

1. **Duties**

   To be responsible, under the designated authority, for the direction and control of the work of the United States Employment Service; more specifically to administer legislative provisions respecting subsidies to state services, and otherwise to promote the state services and weld them into an efficient nation-wide employment service.

2. **Qualifications**

   Minimum education: Equivalent to that represented by graduation with a bachelor's degree from an educational institution of recognized standing.

   Broad experience in business or other services involving the handling of labor and employment problems or the administration of labor laws.

[1] House of Representatives, Document 686, p. 793.

Special abilities: Administrative ability of the highest order. Leadership.

3. **Compensation**
   Annual, $10,000 minimum
4. **Selection**
   By the President

The State Director

In many respects the specifications for the position of State Director are comparable to those of the Director General. The scope, however, of the State Director's activities are considerably more limited and are more directly concerned with the technical operations of the employment offices.

1. **Duties**
   To be responsible, under the Commissioner of Labor or corresponding state authority, for the direction and control of the work and employes of the State Public Employment Service; more specifically to organize and supervise local offices, the state clearing house and state administrative office, and to co-operate with the federal Service and the local governments in developing an efficient and adequate system of employment offices, and generally to promote it.
2. **Qualifications**
   Minimum education: Equivalent to that represented by graduation from a high school.
   Experience dealing with labor and employment problems.
   Special abilities: According to the former New York state statute, which we think puts the requirements well, the state director "shall have recognized executive and managerial ability, technical and scientific knowledge upon the subject of unemployment and administration of public employment offices and recognized capacity to direct investigation of unemployment and public and private agencies for remedying the same." Leadership.
3. **Compensation**
   Annual, $4,000 minimum. While this minimum might be sufficient for a director in states like Idaho or Alabama, where the duties in regard to the Service would be comparatively simple, it should be substantially increased to secure the desired abilities in states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.
4. **Promotion**
   From 1. Assistant director
   2. Local superintendent

Local Superintendent

1. **Duties**

Under the state director, to be responsible for the direction and control of the work and employes of any local office or offices. The specific duties are discussed in Chapter XVI.

2. **Qualifications**

Minimum education: Equivalent to that represented by graduation from high school.

Experience which indicates a general knowledge of industry and employment problems particularly in his or her own community.

Supervising experience as an employer, foreman or superintendent or the equivalent, or experience in an employment office.

Special abilities: Executive ability. Ability to judge character and competency. Leadership.

The California State Civil Service Commission states that local superintendents should possess "tact and ability to meet both employers and employes pleasantly but should have a positive character."

3. **Compensation**

Annual, $2,400 minimum

4. **Promotion**

From 1. Head of a division in local office
2. Interviewer

To 1. Local superintendent in larger centers
2. Assistant to state director
3. State director

Interviewer

1. **Duties**

The duties which an interviewer may be required to perform vary with the size of the personnel in an office. They may include administrative and all of the placement process functions.[1] In any event, interviewing the applicant may be considered the pivotal one. This involves discussion with the applicant in order to determine his qualifications and desires in respect to employment and may end with a decision to refer him to a prospective employer.

2. **Qualifications**

Education: The equivalent of that represented by graduation from high school would be a desirable minimum. However, for certain

[1] See particularly Chapter XX, The Process of Interviewing and Referring Applicants, page 363, for detailed discussion of interviewing.

specialized groups it might be practically impossible to secure an interviewer fulfilling this requirement, and allowance would have to be made in those special cases.

Experience: In the smaller office which admits of little specialization the interviewers should unquestionably be "all-round" persons. In the men's division, for example, an interviewer should have a general knowledge of both skilled and unskilled occupations, particularly of those peculiar to the community in which the office is located. Likewise in the women's division an interviewer should be familiar with the occupations open to girls and women in the community.

In the larger offices where considerable specialization is possible, the question arises as to which is the more desirable, an all-round interviewer or one who has had considerable experience in some one or more of the occupations which he or she is handling. Shall, for example, the one interviewer assigned to handle the skilled work in the men's division of the office be, let us say, a carpenter, or a machinist, or a weaver, or any other mechanic? The distribution of orders among the various trades which the division receives is an important factor in answering this question. But assuming that the orders of one occupation do not greatly outnumber those of others, how is the question to be answered?

After considerable experience with both types of interviewers the British Labour Exchanges, according to one of their administrative officers, are inclined to answer that the all-round interviewer is to be preferred. In the long run, because he has a variety of orders and applicants to deal with, he is likely to give more satisfactory service to both workers and employers. If orders and applicants were so distributed that the examiner who was a carpenter was occupied continuously judging carpenter applicants for carpenter vacancies, it would be different. But he is not. Experience in this country as well as that of the Employment Service of Canada, while undoubtedly more limited, is in agreement with these conclusions.

Special Abilities: A fundamental interest in human beings, tact, sympathy, and an appreciation of individual differences. Ability to judge of an individual's occupational ability and potentiality. F. C. Croxton, formerly Director of the United States Employment Service for Ohio, states: "The best type of examiner is one who is interested in his fellow man—a man who is ready to serve, to give service and not to ask continuously 'what can I get out of it?' The other qualifications are patience, cheerfulness, industry, knowledge

of the community, and knowledge of the technique of employment work. As to the last qualification, I will risk providing that if the other qualifications are present."

3. **Compensation**
   $1,800 minimum

4. **Promotion**
   To 1. Head of division of local office
   2. Local superintendent

Promotion, Transfer, Demotion, and Separation or Dismissal

More and more are employments being gauged by the training they offer for larger responsibility. Important as immediate compensation is, it is not nearly so important to the ambitious worker as is the opportunity for advancement. To recruit and retain qualified employes the Employment Service must provide for promotion from within the Service and on a merit basis, determined upon such records of work as are suggested below. Likewise provision must be made for transfer, demotion, and separation or dismissal.

Transfers from one position to another are becoming more and more frequent in large organizations.[1] Indeed, they serve as a sort of safety valve. A worker may be much better fitted to discharge the duties involved in some other than the position he occupies but co-ordinate in rank with it. Or again he may be able to work more satisfactorily under an executive other than his present one. Thus transfers may not only prevent turnover, but also they may result in increased efficiency.

Even with the most careful selection and training of employes, the necessity for demotion and actual dismissal is bound to occur. And it must be met squarely in public as well as in private employments. However, security has been so heralded as one of the great advantages of civil service appointment that it has resulted in the belief that "once in, always in." Nor does there seem much evidence to the contrary. One of the federal directors of the United States Employment Service claimed that he could find no way of getting rid of employes who proved to be unqualified.

[1] Transfer is used here to indicate a change in work or in placement in the organization without any change in responsibility, salary, or grade of position.

Not only in federal but also in state, county, and municipal civil service is the question of dismissal a very serious one. An executive cannot be held responsible if he does not have control over all who do the detail work of his department. And the personnel control of such an executive should include power to insist through the chief executive officer of the organization upon dismissal of employes for sufficient cause from his department. Some provision for appeal should be made, but after rather than before dismissal. Where dismissal of a worker can be effected only through a trial by the Civil Service Commission on the basis of charges made by his executive, results have been disastrous. "In theory," it was pointed out in the section on City and County Administration of the Springfield Survey, "trials by Civil Service Commissions afford a sure way to remove undesirable employes, but with few exceptions administrators will testify that such a system does not work and that employes know it does not. A situation is thus created which destroys discipline and is fatal to efficiency. . . . It would thus be advisable in Springfield to permit removal by a department head after he had given the employe an opportunity to explain charges which had been made in writing."[1]

Individual Performance Records and Rating Sheets

The question arises as to methods of determining efficiency as a basis not only for dismissal but also for promotion, transfer, and demotion. The first step is to establish standards against which the performance of each employe may be measured. The second, to keep a cumulative record of that performance. This has been the purpose of the individual rating sheet used to a considerable extent in private employments. It usually provides first, for either or both quantitative and qualitative measurements of the individual worker's performance, and secondly, for judgments of him by one or more of his superior officers or by his co-workers in respect to a selected list of attributes related to his performance of duties, such as initiative, reliability, and so forth.

A fundamental difficulty to be encountered in such a rating scheme is the wide difference of interpretation to which particularly the

[1] Decker, D. O., and Harrison, Shelby M.: City and County Administration in Springfield, Illinois, p. 15. In The Springfield Survey, Russell Sage Foundation, 1917.

attributes, even if carefully defined, are subject. Hardly two persons can be found who will agree in their interpretation of a definition of *initiative*. That there may be other difficulties in the functioning of personnel ratings peculiar to government service is to be expected.

Imperfect as they are, rating schemes, however, are an honest attempt to institute scientific methods into the judgment of the efficiency of personnel. If they can be developed they will provide the right kind of basis for promotion, transfer, demotion, and separation not only in the public employment service but in the civil service at large.

Training

Except during the war the demand of the employment offices in this country for workers has been too small to effect the introduction of courses of training in public employment office work by colleges, universities, and other institutions. The nearest approach to such has been the courses in personnel management started in connection with wartime production, some of which have continued. While these may have much to offer prospective employes of a public employment service, they lack the specialized training which the latter require. Pending provision for such by state universities or other institutions it must be supplied by the state services themselves.

The need for training two different groups is at once apparent; namely, new employes, and those who have been in the service for some time. For the first group, instruction and practice in one of the local offices selected for this purpose seems at present to be the most practical procedure. The content of instruction and the methods, however, must be carefully worked out by the state director in co-operation with the local superintendents, and the actual training delegated to one or more capable workers. For those who have been in the service some time, training conferences similar to the one conducted by the United States Employment Service for some months after the armistice would seem feasible.

CHAPTER XXV

SUPERVISION

Scope

TOO frequently among public employment workers is supervision thought of as remote from their everyday work and performed occasionally and casually by "somebody at the top." They have had little opportunity within the Service to realize that supervision is inherent in employment service administration and that it must be adequately performed if the best results are to be achieved. Nor is administration confined to any one or two parts of the Service. It is present to some degree in every one of its units. So supervision, as one of the intrinsic elements of administration, is a function to be performed *within* every unit where more than one person is employed and where responsibility is centralized.

From the point of view of authority, the units of an employment service as in most organizations form a hierarchy, or to put it graphically, a pyramid. Power flows from the top down through a number of executives whose responsibility becomes more restricted as they reach the base. The smallest unit in which more than one person is employed and where responsibility for the performance of the unit is vested in some one person is likely to be the occupational section of a division of a local office. The head of the skilled labor department of the men's division, for example, has certain administrative duties to perform within that department. One of these is to supervise any assistants assigned to him. Likewise, the head of the women's division supervises all departments within her division, and the superintendent of the office all divisions within the entire office. In turn the state superintendent personally or through a special representative supervises all local offices as well as the state clearing house and the central office. In a federal-state-local service such as is here projected, the federal office of the Service would merely check up in respect to those conditions which the state services agree to fulfil.

SUPERVISION

Purpose

The need for supervision is based on a generally accepted philosophy that human beings require stimulation, encouragement, counsel and instruction to maintain any given standard of performance or to improve upon it. Particularly in an employment service where methods are still so undeveloped and experimental there is large opportunity for improvement. The final goal of supervision is a performance, both quantitative and qualitative, that tends most adequately to fulfil the purpose for which the organization has been established.

Relationship Between Supervisor and Supervised

The instruments or agents through which employment work is done and, therefore, the objects of supervision, are human beings; and again, the instruments or agents of supervision are human beings. A fundamental consideration, then, is the relationship between the two human factors immediately involved, the supervisor and the supervised. Since in this function the supervisor represents the greater degree of authority and is the active agent, his attitude very largely determines the psychological set of the relationship. And while individual differences prevent the successful application in all cases of any particular technique of conduct on the part of the supervisor, experience indicates the effectiveness of a particular approach. The keynote of that approach is an attitude of helpfulness as against one of dictation; one of co-operation as against one of command. The supervisor is the teacher, the doctor, rather than the detective or the police officer.

Nor can the supervisor satisfactorily fulfil his function by mere formal contact with those to be supervised. He must know and understand them. An informal, friendly relationship that yields an intimate knowledge of those he is supervising should be the aim of every supervisor. To understand the psychology of those whose performance is being analyzed and evaluated and who must be trained to improve that performance, is essential to effective instruction and ultimately to effective performance. In other words, the better the supervisor knows his workers the more able he is to help them increase their efficiency.

Analysis of Supervision

Supervision has been interpreted as presenting two rather different aspects: one, the police; the other, the promotional. The police aspect is indicated by the checking-up process, by review, and inspection. It is that side of supervision which attempts to prevent deflections from approved practice. It is largely defensive, negative. The promotional aspect, on the other hand, is one of active suggestion. It is the positive and stimulating side; it implies constructive criticism and specific instruction. Also it implies an extension and development of the idea or institution as a whole. Of more practical value, perhaps, than either kind of supervision described is a definition of the function in terms of the steps to be followed in its performance.

First Step: A Definition of Purposes

To understand the objectives of an organization, of the part each unit and function of it plays in the attainment of that objective, is a first premise to intelligent supervision. How can a supervisor satisfactorily check up and improve performance unless he has something against which to measure it? And that final something should be the purpose which the organization or agency has been instituted to serve. *"Purposes in any field of activity should be the standards of value in that field."*[1]

The primary purpose of a nation-wide public employment service, as we have already pointed out, is, by the spreading of information and the making of contacts, to assist the workers of the nation to find employment, and the employers of the nation to find workers, in so far as possible to the maximum satisfaction of each and in the interest of the nation at large. While this is a broad definition and one that itself needs considerable interpretation, it makes clear that placement is the chief aim of an employment service. Each unit of the service has an objective of its own more limited and specialized than that of the whole, but nevertheless an integral part of it. For example, the registration section of the men's division of a local office exists to record on special forms cer-

[1] McMurry, Frank Morton: Elementary School Standards, p. 3. Yonkers, World Book Company, 1913.

tain data respecting applicants for work. Intelligent referral requires these data. Likewise, filing has a purpose of its own, namely, to make readily accessible records of various kinds. But filing is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end.

Obviously, the superintendent of a local office must constantly keep in mind the purpose for which the office and each unit of it exists and the relation between these purposes in order properly to supervise. Failing this, he deprives himself of the final standard of value. An appreciation of purposes is essential not only to the superintendent of a local office but to those below and above him who have supervisory duties to perform—to heads of divisions in local offices, to the director and other officers in the state administrative office, and to the director general, inspectors, and other staff officers of the federal branch of the service.

Second Step: A Classification of the Performance to be Supervised

Assuming that the person who has supervisory duties to perform is familiar with the whys and wherefores of the organization and the various parts of it, the next thing is to find out in detail what in the unit or units assigned to him has to be supervised. He can do this only by resolving the total performance involved into its various elements and operations. In other words he must take stock of the things to be done. This schedule should present as complete an inventory of such items as seem practicable, and should be revised to take account of changes or growth in the unit as well as in the theory and practice of supervision itself. In addition, however, at any one time, or for any special period, supervision might be so organized as to be concerned with but a very selected list of elements or processes.

The head of each division of a local employment office should make out such a schedule in co-operation with and subject to the approval of the superintendent. Indeed, any definition of duties furnished the heads of divisions by the superintendent would serve as a basis for such a schedule. Likewise the superintendent of the office, in co-operation with the state director, should make out a similar schedule for carrying on his own supervision. And so on with the state director and with the federal office.

Even though it is not possible adequately to cover the schedule,

the fact that it has been thought through and written down has its advantages. It brings home to those performing supervisory duties the scope of this function and their own responsibility in regard to it.

Third Step: Determination of Pertinent Facts in Respect to the Items Scheduled

This is considered by some the first step in actual supervision. It is ascertaining conditions, finding out how processes are being performed, and the results. It is the collection of evidence. How are employers' orders being taken over the telephone? How are applicants being received, registered, interviewed? These are the questions the superintendent of an employment office must be able to answer.

The most usual method of acquiring this current information is through inspection. This is usually, though not necessarily, limited to an examination of records and of those aspects of performance that are *visible*. Inspection implies an organized procedure. General observation, interviews with individual workers, group conferences, and trial performance of tasks by the supervisor are additional means of finding out how the unit is doing its work.

Fourth Step: Evaluation

Merely to know the facts as to how each element or process under consideration is actually functioning is not enough. These must be interpreted and evaluted in the light of some standard of measurement as to how the various elements *should* function. Many of these standards are a matter of common knowledge and are being unconsciously applied continuously. Where this is the case a statement of fact in regard to performance carries with it a judgment as to efficiency. For example, to ascertain that one-eighth of the registration cards in an alphabetical file are not in alphabetical order is to realize that the filing is being badly done. Incorrect filing shows either a bad method or careless work.

These are methods or accomplishments which a person who is supervising, instinctively judges and instinctively approves or disapproves. And rightly so. He has in mind a definite standard and frequently an accepted one, inarticulate or unwritten though it be.

On the other hand, there are certain elements in an employment office, such as layout, for example, for which no standards have been agreed upon. Individual superintendents, to be sure, have their own ideas as to what constitutes a satisfactory layout, but these seem to be many and diverse, and peculiar circumstances in each case need to be taken into account to a greater extent than in rating some other matters.

The quality, capabilities, and efficiency of the personnel is another element which is exceedingly difficult to evaluate because of the absence of satisfactory standards. Where the performance of personnel can be measured graphically or statistically, well and good! But such is far from being true of interviewing, for example. It is the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of interviewing that are so important!

For some time to come methods of measuring performance must necessarily be experimental. Whether this one or that is used in the beginning does not matter so much. The important thing is the recognition of the continuous necessity of this step.

Fifth Step: Instruction

After the diagnosis comes the treatment. If, for instance, it is discovered that applicants are being received brusquely, suggestion should be made as to more gracious methods of reception. Constantly must counsel and instruction be given for improvement. This fifth step is the all-important one. The preceding four may be adequately performed and all for naught unless instruction in regard to improvement is both vivid and convincing.

Recommendations as to methods of improvement should be specific rather than general; clear and simple. In order to avoid misunderstanding as well as to clinch points it is desirable to commit important recommendations or instructions to writing, and each person concerned should receive a copy.

The foregoing constitute the essential steps in the performance of supervision. In practice, they by no means always appear distinct or in the order indicated. It may therefore be more helpful to look at them in another way—to take up the processes of supervision as they need to be worked out.

Supervision by Local Superintendents

There is little to indicate that supervision has been conceived of by local employment office superintendents as a special function requiring any definite organization or technique. Offices have been small; the employes few; the superintendent usually one of the "producing units"; and the contact between him and members of his staff close. Whatever direction has existed has been very informal. Too often, however, there has been practically none. In some instances the superintendent has allowed himself to be so "swamped" by placement and clerical work that he has had time for little else; in others, he has confined himself too closely to his "private office."

It is only too evident that no superintendent can adequately oversee the operation of his office unless he takes the time to do so. Certain aspects of supervision such as the examination of special records may be scheduled for some particular hour. But on the whole, supervision by the local superintendent is a function which must be operative almost all the time. A good superintendent is continuously observing, analyzing, evaluating the performance of his staff and of the office as a whole, and continuously instituting measures to improve it. Nor can this be accomplished if the superintendent is remote from the center of the stage, from actual order taking, registration, and interviewing. Certainly during the busy hours he should be out on the floor of the office directing its work, and when feasible, himself participating in the various placement processes.

We have indicated in our discussion of steps that an account or a schedule of the items to be overseen constituted one of the first essentials of supervision. Occupational descriptions for each member of his staff including himself would serve as a schedule for supervising the performance of individual workers. This might be called a vertical organization of the field. Then as a check on this, the various functions or operations to be performed might constitute another schedule. This might be called a horizontal organization of the field. In addition, certain other elements outside of continuous performance and its methods, such as location of the office; layout; equipment; organization; personnel; and clientèle

of both applicants and employers; total volume of business in comparison with that of corresponding period in other years; all must be examined frequently to get perspective on the office to see whether it is fulfilling its purpose in the community.

Any one or more items in any of these types of schedules suggested may be selected for intensive study and supervisory attention for a given period.

Ways and Means for the Local Superintendent

Having in mind then these various items, how can a local superintendent keep himself informed as to their status so as to improve upon it?

Periodic Inspection and Criticism of Each Worker's Performance

At least once every two or three months, it would seem, the local superintendent ought to set himself to observe each member of his staff perform his round of duties and examine such records of this performance as are available. In a small office this would mean listening to the interviewer take orders over the telephone, observing him receive, register, interview, and refer applicants, his following them up, and his method of performing clerical duties. The superintendent would also periodically examine the interviewer's active file of orders, any active desk file of registration cards and such orders and registration cards as were being held for reports on referrals. Quantitative records of an interviewer's performance should also be analyzed.

In the same way the superintendent should examine the work of the telephone operator or the janitor or stenographer. He should then discuss his conclusions with the workers concerned, approve or disapprove methods followed, and wherever possible indicate something better. Such personal interviews have possibilities for greatly stimulating workers to better service. Lines of authority, however, must be respected. If the superintendent should wish to correct some practice of an employe of the women's division, or to instruct her as to better methods, he would do this through the head of the division or in conference with her.

Substitute Performance

One superintendent stated that he found that "one of the best ways to keep a line on the kind of work my staff is doing, is every now and then to handle the different jobs myself. When, for instance, I relieve one of the interviewers in the men's skilled department, it doesn't take me long to find out how he's been doing his work." Another superintendent felt that he could test the work of an interviewer best by frequently verifying some of his referrals.

Inspection and Analysis of Selected Records and Reports

In a certain office all orders eliminated in any one day from the active file were placed at the end of that day on the superintendent's desk in order that he might look them over. These orders, the superintendent thought, served not only as a rough index of performance, but furnished him with current information about employment conditions. It is imperative, however, to see that any one day's orders be removed the following day from the superintendent's desk and properly filed. Otherwise this practice might create confusion in finding old orders for reference purposes.

The regular daily report compiled weekly or monthly or both, is another device for registering in a very rough and incomplete way the work of the office. No one perhaps realizes more keenly than does the local superintendent how inadequate the items in this report are for judging the effectiveness of the office. They take no account of the quality of the service rendered, and this in an employment office is an all-important factor.

"I trust," states Mr. Croxton in a talk at one of the normal training conferences of the United States Employment Service, "that you will think of employment statistics as administrative statistics. They are simply tools to help you accomplish your work. Each office should be interested in correctly reporting its operations and in figuring as closely as possible the cost per capita. *This is not the real test of the efficiency of an office, but it is a good co-operative method of watching the development of efficiency.*"

Other work records, such as individual tallies of the number of persons interviewed and orders taken are of assistance. Records of

telephone calls, of stenographic work, of the soliciting of orders, all are an aid in supervision if they are duly interpreted.

Group Conferences

In offices where there are several or more workers, conferences can be utilized not so much for checking up what is being done as for the consideration of common and specific problems or aspects of employment office work and the means of solving and improving them.

Experience everywhere indicates that in order to realize their fullest possibilities, conferences must be organized around specific questions. In other words, there should be for every conference a definite agenda. This doesn't mean that a program must be typewritten and distributed among the office personnel, desirable as that might be. But it does mean that the superintendent must have in mind definite objectives and a definite procedure. If one of the workers can act as secretary to take minutes of the conference and to post them on a bulletin board, so much the better.

Much improvement in policy and technique can be developed by assigning problems which have developed out of conference discussions to individual workers. A series of conferences on the interview, for example, might result in the acceptance of practices which would enable it to be handled much more satisfactorily than formerly. Likewise might improved methods be introduced in the performance of all the other functions. Nor is the very positive value of well-organized conferences in promoting the esprit de corps of the office to be overlooked. Thus the resources of all the office group are enlisted to a certain extent in the work of supervision.

A Book or Bound Copy of Standard Practices

To have in written and accessible form a statement of all the policies and methods accepted as standard, and of all instructions issued, and to have a record that each such statement has been read and understood by those whom it concerns, is a first aid in the application of those standards and instructions.

State Supervision

Just as it is the duty of each local superintendent to examine and be conversant with the work of each member of his staff in order

that he may know where and how it can be improved, so it is the duty of the state director either himself or through an assistant to examine the performance of the superintendent of each local office in the state. Such an examination would include the entire management of each office.

Again, experience offers comparatively little in the way of organization and method in *state supervision*. Prior to our wartime service, a very few states only provided for a special state superintendent or state director of public employment offices. For the most part, the supervision exercised by them has also been very informal. However, with the establishment of the United States Employment Service, and the very large increase in the number of offices, a few of the federal directors made generous provision for the discharge of this function. And though that experience was short and abnormal it has made its contribution to some of the outstanding questions involved.

Who Shall Do the Supervising?

In states where there are but a few offices the state director himself will probably have to do all the supervising, and this will be his chief function. He should be chosen with this in mind. He may, however, as was the early practice in New York state, detail from time to time the best qualified of the heads of his local office divisions. The heads of the women's and the junior divisions of the Brooklyn office were deputed to supervise their respective divisions in the other offices throughout the state.

In states where there are a large number of offices it would be desirable for the state director to have as an assistant a person, either man or woman, who through training and experience and natural abilities is qualified to act as a supervisor.

On What Basis Shall Assignments Be Made?

It is only when there are two or more supervisors that the question as to how they shall be assigned arises. During the war in some cases the state was divided into districts and a man and a woman supervisor assigned to each. In others, no territorial division was made; supervisors were detailed to bureaus as the need arose or as the judgment of the chief supervisor dictated.

The first, "the district plan," made it possible to fix responsibility very definitely both on the supervisor and on the bureau. Moreover, it led to an intimate knowledge of the conditions which prevailed both within the bureau and within the community. That such a knowledge is necessary to any thoroughgoing diagnosis of the bureau and to the application of remedies is indisputable.

It was to counteract the evils often attendant upon too great familiarity, "growing stale on the job," that the other plan, that of chance assignment, was adopted. Even with the best kind of scheduling this latter method resulted in so much duplication of effort, conflict of instructions, difference in the interpretation of problems, and in the demoralization of the local office, that it was gradually giving way to the district plan when the Service was curtailed.

How Often Shall Offices Be Visited?

No hard and fast rule can be laid down in respect to the frequency of visits by the state director or supervisor to the local office. The individual needs of each office must be the determinant. Once a month would seem a reasonable minimum.

What Shall Be the Content of the State Supervisor's Schedule?

What in a local office must a state supervisor take notice of? In the Ohio branch of the United States Employment Service he was expected to inform himself adequately and to take the proper action in respect to the following questions:

1. Is the equipment adequate?
2. Is the arrangement the best possible?
3. Are the records being kept up to date?
4. Is there an active cross-file in use?
5. What is the attitude of the examiners toward applicants during an interview? Are they courteous or are they brusque and rude?
6. Is any effort being made to place applicants other than by merely going through the employer's file?
7. Do the employers' order cards contain a sufficient amount of information?
8. What is the attitude of the examiners in their telephone conversation?
9. Has the office a systematic method of soliciting employers, and are adequate records kept of all visits made?

10. Are the examiners conscientiously making a study of lines of work in the community?
11. Are they giving this information to applicants in an intelligent way?
12. Are the examiners able to present good arguments to employers for the Employment Service—that is, are they good salesmen of the public employment idea?
13. Is the man or woman in charge making proper connections with other organizations in the community?
14. Is the office considered an authority upon employment matters in the neighborhood?
15. If an order comes in, to fill which no suitable applicant appears in the files, is every possible effort made to secure some suitable applicant?
16. Is the office acting tactfully and according to instructions in matters relating to strikes?
17. Are all the examiners in the office thoroughly familiar with the state laws affecting women and children?
18. Do they give the younger group of applicants, those between fifteen and eighteen, special attention and encourage those just leaving school to return there?
19. Is the examiner in charge in the habit of holding regular staff meetings and thus encouraging real team work?
20. Is he encouraging workers in the office to read publications on industrial subjects?

The above questionnaire is not put forward as a complete or model one. Ohio would make no such claim for it. It is included here merely because of its suggestive value.

A somewhat different method of organizing the schedule would be as follows:

I. **Analysis of business for any given period**
   1. Volume as compared with that of same period in other years and in other offices
      By divisions; departments; occupation; and so on
   2. Cost of operation as compared with that of some period in other years and in other offices
      By divisions and departments
         a. rent
         b. heat
         c. light
         d. telephone and telegraph service

e. labor
f. supplies
g. insurance
h. depreciation

II. **Physical aspects of office**
Layout, equipment, caretaking
III. **Personnel**
IV. **Organization**
Divisions, departments
V. **Performance of various functions**
Placement
Administrative
VI. **Esprit de corps of office**
VII. **Influence of office in the community**
from employer's point of view
from worker's point of view
from community's point of view

To be complete this type of schedule would have to include the specific points to be observed and examined under each of the larger items listed. Such a detailed outline would then serve as a basis or plan for a complete survey of any local office.

Shall the Entire Schedule be Covered in Each Visit?

Whether or not the entire schedule should be covered in every supervisory visit depends on a number of factors: the size of the office; efficiency of its performance; frequency of supervision; length of time the supervisor can remain in any one office; relative significance of the items listed; and others. Certainly the weak spots must be given first attention. These may be evident at once. On the other hand, a general survey at least once or twice a year would seem necessary in order completely to determine what the weak spots are.

What Ways and Means of Performing the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Steps in Supervision Can the State Supervisor Utilize?

The ways and means of securing the pertinent facts, of evaluating and interpreting them, and of offering instruction, discussed in connection with supervision by the local superintendent can, with few exceptions, be carried over to state supervision. Much more, per-

haps, than the local superintendent, will the state supervisor utilize comparison of performance with other offices as a means of evaluating the work of any one of them.

If, however, registrations, referrals, and placements in the various offices are to be compared, it is imperative that they mean the same thing in each office. Definition of these terms should be the function of the federal Service; interpretation of them if accepted by the state, the function of the state supervisor.

A comparison of methods employed in the different offices and their results will enable the state supervisor to "bring to each office the very best that is done in all of the offices of the state, thus raising them to the highest point of efficiency."

Shall the Supervisor Write a Memorandum on His Findings and Action?

If the state director himself has to do all the supervising, reports of his findings and action on each supervisory visit to an office may not be necessary, desirable though they might be for reference purposes. If, however, the state director delegates supervision to someone else, he should require a written report from the supervisor. It is the practice of the British Labour Exchanges to have the inspector refer his report to the local superintendent concerned for the latter's signature and comments before it is filed with the divisional office. This is an entirely feasible procedure.

There are doubtless other questions to be answered in relation to state supervision, but the foregoing are the more important ones. Inspection by the federal office of the state services receiving federal aid is discussed in Chapter XI., Organization of the Federal Office, page 201.

CHAPTER XXVI

EMPLOYMENT OFFICE REPORTS AND EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

THE term employment statistics is used to cover not only those statistics which have to do with the work of employment offices, but also those others, whatever their source, which show the volume of employment and the condition of the labor market.

It is with the statistics of employment offices as such that we are primarily concerned here. They are the pulse by means of which the administrator judges of efficiency and directs his work. Secondly, they are themselves a valuable source of information on employment and labor conditions. On the one side, records are kept that better placement work may be done; on the other, that the facts incidental to placement may be utilized by the public for industrial and social ends. Both of these purposes are legitimate and necessary; controversy as between their relative merits has been short-sighted.

The facts that are entered on the record cards of local offices as part of placement work are the bases of these statistics. Immediately the question arises as to how many of these data should be tabulated by the local offices and how many the central office should require the local office to compile and forward to it. In the past, employment offices have generally been so undermanned that placement work was the sole consideration of the staff. Time taken in the tabulation of statistics and in the preparation of reports was looked upon as a dead loss. Unfortunately, our offices are still undermanned, and for the present at least we will have to cut our coat to fit our cloth. However, failure to understand the proper value of such statistics has prevented their collection probably to as great an extent as has the inadequacy of staff. Not forgetting that placement work is the function and *raison d'etre* of an employ-

ment office, we should insist on a certain amount of statistical record as essential to the efficient administration of that very placement work both in its local and in its more far-reaching aspects.

I. SUBJECT MATTER OF REPORTS

Examination of some 50 different report blanks that have been or are still used in the United States and Canada, as well as of the published reports of employment offices here and in European countries, shows that in general the data required of local offices may be grouped under five heads: (1) demand of employers for workers; (2) applications for work; (3) workers referred by the office to employers; (4) positions actually filled by persons whom the office has referred; and (5) general information concerning employment conditions, including account of labor troubles, reasons for shortages or surpluses of labor, and prevailing rates of wages. We will take up these points in order.

Demand of Employers for Workers

The information of primary importance in connection with the demand for workers is the number of positions or vacancies which the office is called upon to fill. This number contrasts with the number of workers applying for work; it is an indication of the volume of service asked by employers; and in the case of an established and actively functioning employment agency it reflects the condition of industry and its ability to absorb more workers. In addition to this figure a record is usually made of the number of individual employers from whom calls are received during the period covered by the report in order to gauge the dispersion of the service rendered; and a record is also made in the reports of the actual number of employers' orders received, irrespective of the number of workers ordered.

In the above paragraph and throughout this report we have used "order" to mean the request of a single employer either for one workman or for more than one if a number of workmen of identical qualifications are wanted. To interviewers an "order" is visualized by a single order card. We have described in the chapter on employers' orders what may be put on one card.

Minimum Reports

Statistical reports made by various employment systems in regard to employers' applications have included the following items. Those printed in black or bold faced type constitute an absolute minimum number which should be required:

1. **TOTAL NUMBER OF VACANCIES OR OF WORKERS WANTED, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO:**
   a. **Sex, subdivided (1) by age, whether junior or adult,[1] (2) by industry, (3) by occupational grouping**
   b. **Age, whether junior or adult subdivided (1) by sex, (2) by industry, (3) by occupational grouping**
   c. **Industry, subdivided (1) by sex, (2) by age, whether junior or adult, (3) by occupational grouping**
   d. **Occupational grouping, subdivided (1) by sex, (2) by age, whether junior or adult, (3) by industry**
   e. **Location; that is, (1) within city (or other defined area), (2) outside city**
   f. Compensation
2. **TOTAL NUMBER OF ORDERS FOR WORKERS** [2]

   These orders may be subdivided by sex and by age (whether junior or adult).
3. **TOTAL NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL EMPLOYERS APPLYING**

Applications for Work

Following are the points which usage has established as necessary in reporting on applicants for work. Those printed in black faced type are recommended as essential:

1. **TOTAL NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS FOR WORK, SUBDIVIDED INTO:**
   a. **Registrations:**[3] **Classified and sub-classified according to the items of (1) sex, (2) age, whether junior or adult, (3) occupational grouping**

[1] Practice varies as to whether eighteen or twenty-one years is taken as the dividing point between junior and adult. We incline toward twenty-one.

[2] This item on a report does not include "renewed orders" or "re-orders." When an order for a particular vacancy becomes inactive, because the vacancy has been filled or for any other reason, that order cannot be revived. A further request from the same employer for the same type of workman is a new order. See page 484 for discussion of renewals.

[3] The use of the words "Registrations" and "Renewals" presupposes uniform definitions in the different offices reporting. See pages 257 and 484 for definitions suggested by this study.

b. **Renewals:**[1] **Classified and sub-classified according to the items of (1) sex, (2) age, whether junior or adult, (3) occupational grouping.**

2. **TOTAL NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS APPLYING FOR WORK SUBDIVIDED BY SEX AND AGE**
3. Number of (a) applicants, and (b) applications; classified by nationality, or by country of birth, or by citizenship.
4. Total number of union members—classified by occupation and sex.

Outside of these regular statistical items, many uses have been suggested for other data which appear upon the registration cards and the desirability of their inclusion on reports has been argued. We see no objection to reporting on further points when there appears to be a strong demand for the information, but for the present we would not recommend as essential more than that noted above.

Registrations and Renewals

What is a renewal? The question has confused and embroiled employment workers for years. When a man applies for work several times before getting it, how shall we record his applications and show them in our statistics? The practice of those offices which still refuse to record by registration or otherwise the requests of applicants whom they cannot place on the spot cannot be considered a basis for general statistics in any case.

There have been some two dozen methods, many of which vary only in details and in definitions of terms. It would not profit us to go into all of them.

According to one method a single registration is valid for one week (or two weeks, or a month, or other definite period), and further appearances at office on the part of the applicant are not recorded within the period unless he shall have been placed. After the period elapses or after he has been placed, the first subsequent application is recorded as a new registration.

According to another method a registration is the filling out of a card; *all* subsequent applications for work (only one application being noted for the same day) are "renewals" of that registration;

[1] This classification is parallel to that for vacancies except that applications for work cannot satisfactorily be classified by industry; occupation is the matter of chief interest.

unless the registration has been allowed to lapse for two (or one, or three or ten) calendar years without renewal, in which case a new card is necessary and then it is recorded as an entirely new application or registration.

The elements of these typical methods have been combined in almost every conceivable way.

Why renewals? Here it should be said that placement work in the local office is done in exactly the same way, whatever the method of recording applications and re-applications. So far as placement work is concerned, the noting on the registration card of the fact of a man's availability for a job is the important thing. Whether it is called a registration, a renewal, or a re-application does not matter. How the records of these applications are compiled does make a difference, however, in the kind of statistical information which can be put out. For this reason the decision in regard to the term and the method employed will be determined by the kind of statistics that are wanted. *And for the purpose of a statistical index the adoption of and adherence to a uniform method is as important as the terms and the methods themselves.*

Either of the methods outlined above is practicable. The first one sets a definite period to the statistical "life" of a registration; a week, two weeks, or a month are the usual periods. This is on the statistical assumption that unless applicants are placed or voluntarily cancel their applications they usually remain unemployed the week or other set period; and that if unemployed longer they will renew their application at the end of the period. Or at any rate, the assumption is that the use of the same formula uniformly throughout all the offices of an employment system will give an index of unemployment that is comparable as between different sections of the country and between different seasons or years.

The British System. In Great Britain an application card remains in the active file seven days (fourteen days for those who apply by mail) unless the applicant is placed or cancels his application. By counting the cards in the active file at any particular time one can find out how many people are shown by the statistics of that office to be unemployed. The operation of unemployment insurance in Great Britain makes this record much more complete

and accurate than it would be otherwise, because a man who is actually out of work will keep reporting at the office in order to prove his right to the unemployment benefit; and a man who gets a job must withdraw his application for the unemployment benefit to which he is no longer entitled.

The monthly report of the British employment exchanges takes the form of a balance sheet of applicants for employment as follows:

Total number of:

(1) *applicants in the live register at the end of the preceding month*

plus

(2) Fresh applications (those applying for the first time in the statistical year)

plus

(3) Re-registrations during the current year

Total number of:

(1) applicants placed locally

plus

(2) applicants placed in other districts (through clearance)

plus

(3) applications lapsed (beyond one week period without renewal), found work, cancelled by death, and so on

plus

(4) *Applicants in live register at the end of the current month*

The Employment Service of Canada uses a fourteen-day period as the statistical "life" of a registration, which was adopted after trial of a thirty-day period. The shorter period was deemed a more accurate basis of record, with the full understanding that any set period is of necessity arbitrary.

The United States Employment Service toward the end of its war career also adopted the balance sheet method and the practice of a statistical period within which applicants were deemed to be unemployed.[1]

Ohio Method. The second method listed above was used in the

[1] Note that there is no necessary connection between this period during which applications are assumed for statistical purposes to remain open unless filled or cancelled, and the length of time that the interviewer will keep particular cards in the "active file" on his desk for attention.

State of Ohio. According to it a renewal is recorded once on each day that an applicant gets in touch with the office. Of course a man's first appearance at an office when his card is made out is a registration.

This method discards the attempt to make a balance sheet of applications for work, and just records the appearances that are actually made at the office. It shows in more accurate detail the exact pressure of attendance at the local office than does a seven- or fourteen-day period within which further applications are not recorded.

Relative Value of Two Methods. Either of these statistical methods of recording applications for work will give an index of unemployment in so far as applications at the public employment office are a reliable barometer. Where there is the stimulus of unemployment insurance, as in England, to make each applicant record the fact of his unemployment promptly at the office and likewise to keep the office informed when he gets work, the English method gives a rather accurate *measure* of unemployment. In the absence of the stimulus of unemployment insurance, however, it is our opinion that the every day recording by this second method of the actual contacts with the office of applicants for work, is more accurate as an index of the employment demands upon that office. For this reason the Ohio method seems to us best for the United States.

Referrals to Positions

The following items are those which have been used in compiling the record of the number of workers referred to positions. Again, those printed in black faced type seem to us to be essential.

1. **TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERRALS MADE, CLASSIFIED BY**[1]
   a. **Sex,** subdivided by (1) Age, whether junior or adult, (2) Industry, (3) Occupational grouping
   b. **Age (juniors and adults)** subdivided by sex, industry, and occupational grouping
   c. **Industries,** subdivided by sex, age (whether junior or adult) and occupational grouping
   d. **Occupational grouping** subdivided by sex, age (junior or adult) and industry

[1] Black-faced type used to indicate those items regarded as essential.

e. **Duration of vacancy ("casual," temporary or permanent)**
f. Location (in city or outside city)

2. NUMBER OF VACANCIES TO WHICH REFERRALS WERE MADE
3. TOTAL NUMBER OF APPLICANTS REFERRED, CLASSIFIED BY
   a. Individuals referred to one position only
   b. Individuals referred to more than one position. This item has often been subdivided into: number referred to two positions; to three positions; to four positions, and so on, to the highest number of positions to which a single person had been referred.

Vacancies Filled or Persons Placed

Reports of placements have included the following:

1. **TOTAL VACANCIES FILLED, CLASSIFIED BY**
   a. **Sex, subdivided by (1) Age, (2) Industry, (3) Occupational grouping**
   b. **Age, subdivided by (1) Sex, (2) Industry, and so on**
   c. **Industry, subdivided by (1) Sex, (2) Age, and so on**
   d. **Occupational grouping,** subdivided by (1) Sex, (2) Age, and so on
   e. **Duration of vacancy ("casual," temporary or permanent)**
   f. Location (in city or outside city)
2. TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS PLACED IN POSITIONS
   These may be classified by sex, age, industry, and further into,
   a. Persons placed in one position
   b. Persons placed in more than one position during a single statistical period; namely, those in two positions, those in three positions, and so on to the greatest number of positions filled by a single person. (Day's workers furnish a good illustration)
3. RATES OF COMPENSATION

Needless to say, placements as well as applications for work, orders and referrals must be classified by weeks, or months, or years, and by offices or states.

II. REPORT OF EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

In addition to the above purely statistical records, local superintendents are requested to make narrative reports on the condition of the local employment market. Industrial disputes, changes in

wage rates or hours of labor, changes in the character of the demand upon the office and their causes, and in general the interpretation of the statistical material are the subject matter of these reports. As a part of supervision they should be followed closely and special reports be asked in explanation of any phases of a local situation that would not otherwise be clear.

With a national system of employment offices this form of report offers great possibilities; there is a labor specialist right on the ground in touch with every phase of the situation, if only the fact is taken advantage of.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES

A first thing that one wants to know when told how many placements an employment office has made, is the kind of jobs it handles. When there is a surplus of workers we wish to know the occupations and industries in which they are seeking work, and when there is a surplus of jobs it is equally important to know for what kinds of jobs workers are needed. For this reason practically all employment offices have attempted to make a classification of occupations within which they could show the distribution of their applications for work and for workers, and of their placements.

This task of classification is peculiarly difficult. The terms used to designate the same occupations in different places are often different and their number is almost infinite. It is told of the 1910 census that less than one-third of the people canvassed could be enrolled in a list comprising 17,000 occupations and that the attempt at complete classification by occupations had to be abandoned. Whether the story is true or not the difficulty it illustrates is well known.

No classification of occupations used to record the work of employment offices has been entirely satisfactory. There was a period when a mere alphabetical listing of the various kinds of jobs was used, but that was so inadequate that practically all employment systems have abandoned it in favor of an industrial classification of which the following is an illustration:

Agriculture
- Farmhands
- Fruit and berry pickers
- Gardeners
- Other distinct occupations

Building and Construction
- Bricklayers, masons, and plasterers
- Carpenters, joiners, and helpers
- Cement workers
- Structural iron workers
- Other distinct occupations

Casual Workers
- Chemicals, oils, paints
- Clay, glass, and stone products

Clerical and Professional
- Bookkeepers, accountants, and cashiers
- Office clerks
- Stenographers
- Statisticians
- Teachers
- Other distinct occupations

Clothing, Millinery and Furnishings
- Dressmakers and seamstresses
- Garment workers
- Hat, cap, and millinery workers
- Laundry, cleaning, and dyeing workers

Miscellaneous
- Errand boys and messengers
- Marine and stationary engineers
- Marine and stationary firemen and oilers
- Motion picture employes
- Watchmen
- Others

An unsatisfactory feature of this type of classification as it has been used is that while most of the groups actually bring together the occupations connected with basic industries, such as agriculture, other headings are not "industrial" headings at all, but are groups of allied occupations, such as "Casual Workers" and "Clerical and Professional." Nevertheless, the industrial headings and the occupational group headings are listed on a parity with each other. The objection to this method is that the subdivisions of the occupational groups many times cut right across all the remainder of the industrial classifications. Stenographers and laborers are employed in nearly every industry. Under this form of report any figures for placements in metal manufacturing, for instance, would not contain the stenographers, or executives, or laborers that the metal industry had actually hired, because these had been put under separate headings by themselves.

The reason for the adoption of this form of public employment office report is not far to seek. It was based on the assumption that the daily report in the local office could be made up more easily and

with greater uniformity if a printed list of the usual occupations was furnished as a report blank. All the local office needs to do is to associate the vacancy it was reporting with one of the occupations on the printed list and put a mark in the proper column. A "miscellaneous" or "others" item covers all unspecified occupations. The principle of their use is identical with the way items are listed on the laundry slip found in a hotel room; indeed, it has been derisively called the "laundry slip method."

The number of occupations that could be written on the form was of course limited; they ranged from 40 to 200.[1] And because it was evident that a single occupation like that of stenographer could not be printed under each industry, a separate heading for clerical and professional workers was provided! In this manner the classification became partly industrial and partly occupational.

Essentials of a Classification

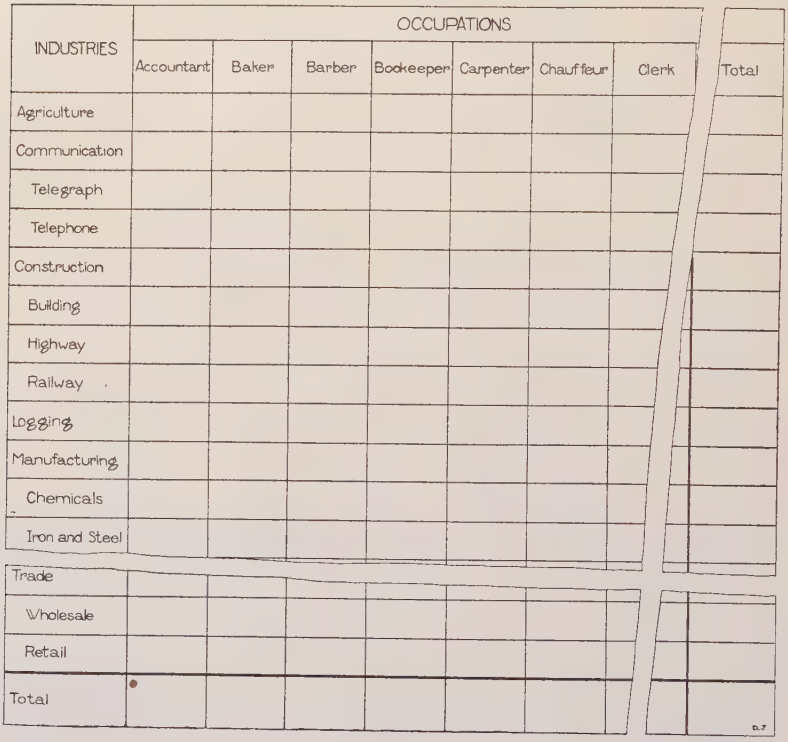
One of the first principles in making a classification is that headings of the same rank be mutually exclusive. If we wish to make a classification of occupations by industries which will be of value statistically we must group them rigidly under industrial headings. In this case a stenographer employed by a telephone company would be listed as a stenographer under the heading "Telephone" or "Communication"; a stenographer employed by a dry goods store would be listed as a stenographer under "Trade—retail."

A purely occupational grouping would disregard industries and be based on similarity of processes or trade knowledge. Under the headings "Accountant," "Architect," "Woodworker," "Medical Man," "Textile Operator," would be grouped the various specialists and allied workers. The term **Woodworker** as a heading would bring together "cabinetmaker," "dock builder," "house carpenter," "wood patternmaker," "shipwright," "machine woodworker," and the like. This is truly a classification of occupations. The United States Army used this method to classify those civilian occupations from which the men needed to perform specialized and technical functions in army units could be drawn. Over 4,000,000 recruits were registered according to it. That the army classifica-

[1] In the single case of Illinois the list included 300 items.

tion would have to be modified and expanded for employment office use seems probable, but the method is practicable.

From the point of view of placement work in the local office the



INDUSTRIES	OCCUPATIONS							
	Accountant	Baker	Barber	Bookkeeper	Carpenter	Chauffeur	Clerk	Total
Agriculture								
Communication								
Telegraph								
Telephone								
Construction								
Building								
Highway								
Railway								
Logging								
Manufacturing								
Chemicals								
Iron and Steel								
Trade								
Wholesale								
Retail								
Total								

To Indicate Occupations Classified by Industry

This form was drawn to indicate how, by listing industries vertically and occupations horizontally, the vacancies and placements of an employment office can be classified occupationally according to industry. The industrial and occupational terms used in this form are suggestive only.

difference between these two types of classifications is of no material significance. Placement deals with specific occupations, and a vacancy for a stenographer is handled in the same way whether it comes from a department store or a soap factory. It is for this

reason that occupations are the ultimate consideration of both forms of classification.

Statistically, it is desirable that both forms be actually worked out in practice. A strong argument in favor of classifying occupations by industries in recording the work of employment offices is that such classification will immediately make comparable these reports and the reports on general employment conditions which are gathered directly from employers and trade unions. It would then be possible to obtain some idea as to whether the employment offices during the year handled 3 per cent or 15 per cent of the turnover in the mining or logging industry.[1] It would also be possible to determine the extent to which fluctuations in the work of employment offices reflected changes in employment conditions in particular industries. More and more emphasis is being given in industrial organization, in labor organization, and in production statistics to a separation of the fundamental industries. A classification which is in line with this tendency seems desirable.

The form shown on page 492 was prepared to bring out the relation of occupations and industries to one another. The occupational and industrial terms used are for illustrative purposes.

IV. MAKING UP REPORTS IN LOCAL OFFICES

The method of tabulating report data in an employment office is a matter of local convenience primarily. One plan is to have each department use a tally sheet upon which the interviewers make the required notations during the course of the day or in the afternoon at their option. A clerk collects these sheets at the end of the day and assembles the data upon the regular report form, making a duplicate for the local file.

Another method is to have a report clerk take from all desks the original records, order cards, registration cards, placement check cards, and so on, at about two or three o'clock in the afternoon and compile the report directly from these cards. In order to do this the day's business is assumed to have closed at two o'clock. All

[1] Assuming that information on the total amount of turnover for the industry is also available.

ORIGINAL AND DUPLICATE
TO BE MAILED DAILY TO
GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

SHEET No.....

DAILY REPORT OF EMPLOY

	APPLICATIONS													
	Handicapped	Check if Reported by Extension Office	APPLICANT'S NUMBER	Male—M Female—F	AGE	OCCUPATION	Check if Union Member	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Single—S Married—M Widowed—W	Applications—A Re-Applications—R	When Referred Indicate Order No.	Cancellation-C Expiration-E Transfer Out-T Placement-P	Enter Order Number when Placement Confirmed	Check here if reported for Clearance
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														

FORM ON WHICH LOCAL OFFICES REPORT DAILY TO NA

The local office merely records, in the proper space, the data for each of

new orders or registrations coming in after two are recorded with the next day's business.

The State Bureau of Employment in California has used still another method. At certain intervals all the order cards of the month or period are sent directly to the state central office, and the record for the period compiled there by trained clerks. In the meantime a minimum of reports, or none at all, is required of local offices. The theory is that the result is more accurate and the process is more efficient than by means of daily reports. We do not feel that enough experience has been had with this method to recommend it. Daily reports are as important for the purpose of administration and supervision as they are for more remote statistical purposes; and the withdrawal of current record cards from the files of a local office for even a short period is not desirable.

MENT OFFICE AT ..... PROVINCE OF ..... DATE .....

VACANCIES													
Check if Reported by Extension Office	ORDER NUMBER	EMPLOYER'S NAME Omit in case of Farm and Household Workers	EXACT PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT Omit if inside town limits	PRINCIPAL PRODUCT OR ACTIVITY OF EMPLOYER Omit in case of Farm and Household Workers	KIND OF WORK FOR WHICH EMPLOYEES ARE WANTED	Man—M Woman—W Boy—B Girl—G	Number Required	Probable Duration of Employment	Hours Worked per Day and per Week	AMOUNT OF WAGES State whether per Hour, Day, Week or Month. If Piecework, indicate Rate per Unit	Cancellation—C Expiration —E Transfers in—T	Check here if Reported for Clearance
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27

TIONAL HEADQUARTERS—EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA

its transactions. All compilations are made by the national office.

REPORT FORMS

A collection of some 50 different report blanks represents the practice and experience of employment offices in the United States and Canada. Those in the United States are uniformly of the "laundry slip" type already described.[1] Opposite a list of occupations and industries are usually four columns headed "Registrations," "Help Wanted," "Referred," and "Placed." A fifth column headed "Renewals" is often used, and a sixth in states where clearance is in operation sometimes provides for "Transfers."

From the very beginning the Employment Service of Canada avoided the use of the "laundry slip." In the first place they made a classification of industries. They designated symbols for the items in the classification, each symbol representing an industry or

[1] Page 491.

large section of an industry. In making up the report form two columns were provided, the one headed "Group" in which the local office put the symbol of the industry group, and the other headed "Occupation" in which each office wrote the occupational term to be used. Thus they were able to list stenographers under "Manufacturing—Metals," and under "Trade—Wholesale," without resorting to a "clerical" heading which would be on a par with the industries themselves. The making of a list of all the occupational terms used, the classifying of them according to an occupational grouping, and the issuing of them with such definitions or occupational specifications as will insure uniform terminology throughout an employment system still remain to be done.

Form E. O. 23 of the Employment Service of Canada

Of greater significance than the form which is used is the method of daily reporting first tried in Ontario in November, 1920, and rapidly introduced in the other provinces. This is the system by which *each of the reportable transactions of the office*, registrations, "re-applications" or renewals, referrals, and placements, *are reported as separate items*, along with other specified data on a single report form. This form, which will fit into a loose-leaf ledger, is divided into two main sections—one for applications, the other for vacancies. Besides the mere number of applications and orders received, applicants referred to positions, and placements made, information is required concerning the number of handicapped workers who apply for jobs; the number of orders and applications reported by extension offices; the age, sex, trade union affiliation, nationality, conjugal condition, and trade of all applicants; the kinds of workers wanted by employers, with wages and hours on the job; the principal products or activities of employers who want help; the length of time each order would remain open; the number of re-applications; the number of placements, transfers in and out (by means of clearance), expirations and cancellations of orders and applications; and the number of orders and applications reported for clearance between provinces. In addition, there is miscellaneous information required for the office routine, such as order and application numbers, and so on. This Canadian form is reproduced on pages 494 and 495.

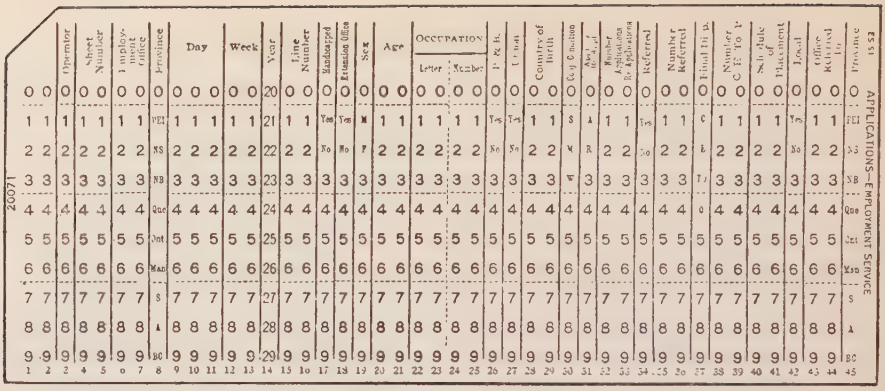
The information noted is considered to be the raw material for any statistical interpretation which the national headquarters may wish to make. The local office, by merely filling in certain data for each transaction, has the minimum of responsibility and no calculations to make at all. The compilation can all be done at headquarters by expert statistical clerks.

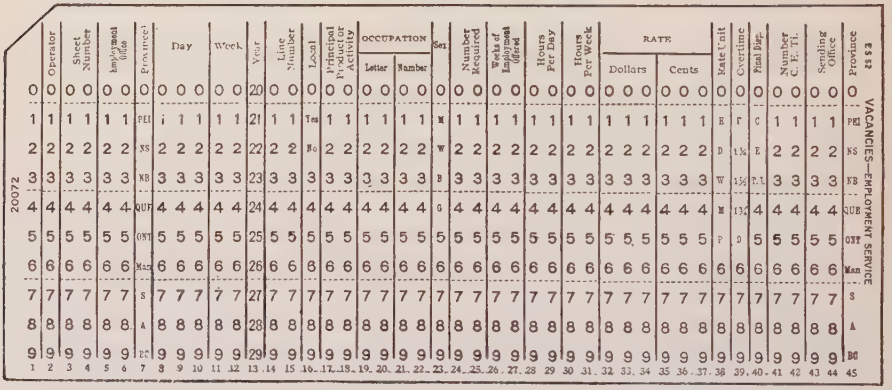
Another point that determined the adoption of this type of "raw material" report in Canada was the realization that employment statistics are only in their early stages of development; and it seemed wiser to relieve the local offices which are not manned by statisticians from the confusion which changes in methods of compilation and interpretation would entail. With the basic data coming in anyway, the statistical office can use them as the needs of the time require without imposing frequent changes of procedure upon interviewers.

To render these data flexible a Hollerith machine is used. One 45 field Hollerith card is used for applications, and another for vacancies, as shown on page 498.

The data, obtainable from the Hollerith cards for any office or any province, for any day or any period, are the bases for all compilations and interpretations to which such statistics are susceptible.

The chief and only objection to this kind of report is that, to quote a general comment, "it requires too much writing on the part of the local office." But the validity of this objection may be frankly questioned. The report sheet can be kept on the desk of the interviewer all day and the various entries made when the record card is filled out or at any subsequent time—and the transaction once entered the reporting of it is completed. This method of relieving local offices of all statistical compilation and merely securing from them the basic data is comparable with that used in California, except that here the data can be kept permanently at headquarters and local office files are not deprived of their cards while a compilation is being made. Also the record is returned daily rather than at longer intervals. The experience of a few months in Canada, particularly in the Toronto office where the volume of work is great, convinced the interviewers that this method was not as difficult or time-consuming as they had feared.





Cards Used to Tabulate Statistics—Employment Service of Canada

The data to be compiled are indicated by punching holes in the cards. The tabulation is done by machinery. The card at the top supplies data regarding applicants. The items printed down the side include the following: Operator; sheet number; employment office; province; day; week; year; line number; handicapped; extension office; sex; age; occupation—letter, number; professional and business; union; country of birth; conjugal condition; application or re-application; number applications, re-applications; referred; number referred; final disposition of applications; number—cancellations and expirations—transfers out (to province); schedule of placement; local; office referred to; province. The card at the bottom records data regarding vacancies. The items printed down the side include the following: Operator; sheet number; employment office; province; day; week; year; line number; local; principal product or activity; occupation—letter, number; sex; number required; weeks of employment offered; hours per day; hours per week; rate—dollars, cents; rate unit; overtime; final disposition of order; number—cancellations and expirations—transfers in; sending office; province. The cards used for the two forms are in different colors.

It is safe to say that it has proved a success from the local office point of view.

V. OTHER EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Many bureaus of labor statistics have collected regular reports from employers of the number of workers on their payrolls and from unions of the extent of employment or unemployment among their members. These statistics are obtained by gathering figures of representative cities, unions, and industries. In Canada the Employment Service itself, beginning in 1919, assumed this function. The United States Employment Service, beginning in January, 1921, also collected such figures and published for a time the *Industrial Employment Survey Bulletin,* the purpose of which was to make public the figures which it had collected from selected establishments in some 65 industrial centers in the United States.[1]

The reports from employers are usually obtained at monthly intervals and show in most cases the number on the payroll made up nearest the middle of the period in question. By compiling these reports over a long period, the increases and decreases indicated by the volume of employment become of large significance in gauging the volume and incidence of unemployment. In some cases a more immediate index is sought by asking each week, not only for a report of the number on the payroll, but for the number expected to be there at the end of the coming week.

Reports from trade unions showing the number of members in each union and the number of members out of work, afford further indications of the state of employment and are of value particularly in the skilled trades.

Special statistical precautions need to be employed in both these types of reports to insure validity and comparability of data.

The extent and the fluctuations in employment of those engaged in federal, state, and municipal government projects may also be a fruitful source of knowledge in the operation of an employment service. This does not refer to the permanent employes, but to those on construction and like work where hiring and laying off

[1] More recently the publication of these figures has been stopped and the publication of similar figures by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics instituted.

goes on as with any other employer. The possession of this information will not only enable the employment service to perfect its machinery for furnishing the various government departments with workers, but will enable it to put forth plans for apportioning government contracts between the seasons and years in accordance with the condition of the labor market.

Statistics showing the value of building permits issued by the various city governments afford some index of the amount of employment in the building trades and to some extent in the allied metal and woodworking trades. Such statistics are being collected from 35 of the largest Canadian cities by the Canadian Employment Service; also from a large number of American cities by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and by other statistical bureaus in the United States.

VI. GENERAL LABOR STATISTICS AND THE EMPLOYMENT SYSTEM

The whole field of labor statistics and the field of the public employment service have so much in common that even cost of living studies are of great value in the administration of a system of employment offices. For this reason it has been urged that the employment service itself should take over the collection of all labor statistics. On the other hand, a strong case has been made for the collection and compiling of employment statistics obtained from employers by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics working in co-operation with the state bureaus.[1]

In our opinion the question can be settled on the basis of expediency. The important thing is that more and more emphasis be put on the *whole* field of labor statistics; and if, as in the United States, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has the established machinery for collecting such data, there is no reason for dislodging that machinery. Canada, notwithstanding her satisfactory experience during the three years when the Employment Service collected employers' data, has recently transferred this duty to the regular statistical

[1] See Chapter XIX, on "Charting the Course of Employment," by Mary Van Kleeck, in Business Cycles and Unemployment, the report prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1923.

bureau of the Dominion, which may be added indication that it is best in this country to leave the collecting of these statistics to the federal and state bureaus of labor statistics. Under such an arrangement, however, it will be very important to have the two divisions of the federal Department of Labor, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Employment Service work in the closest harmony —so that the Service may be supplied with detailed information on employment questions with a reasonable degree of promptness.

CHAPTER XXVII

PUBLICITY

IN ITS broadest sense, public employment service publicity may be said to include every conscious manifestation of the service which is likely to influence the will of the public toward it. Thus, it would include what is usually understood by education, propaganda in its favorable sense, promotion, advertising, and salesmanship, as applied to this institution. From this point of view the physical aspect of an employment office, its personnel, clientèle, service, all are factors in the public's knowledge of the office and public opinion concerning it. But each of these factors has a primary function of its own to perform; publicity is but one of their by-products.

Publicity, however, is not limited to by-product or incidental activities; it is itself a primary function to be performed. As such, in the public employment service field it is limited to that organized effort the sole purpose of which is constantly to attract the attention of the public to the service, to make known its purpose, its policies and programs, its needs and its activities, in order that its best work may be done. It is in accordance with this interpretation rather than with the more inclusive conception of it that publicity is here discussed; and even then it has very broad implications and possibilities.

Unless those for whom a service is established know of it and have some understanding of its purpose, they obviously cannot use it. And to the degree to which those who need and can be served by it do not use it, to that degree does the service fall short of its purpose. Knowledge, then, by employers, workers and the public, refreshed from time to time, of the existence and objects of a public employment office, and particularly of those policies and methods which require action on the part of workers and employers, is essential to the best service from the office.

Not only must the public employment office make itself known

to and understood by its constituency, it must enlist confidence in itself, possess a certain amount of prestige, and create an active goodwill. Publicity and educational work alone, of course, cannot achieve these benefits. Efficient performance of duties is essential. But neither is efficient performance alone sufficient. That old merchandising maxim, "The right goods will sell themselves," can no longer be accepted without qualifications. The complexities of present-day living, with its multitudinous attractions of every possible variety competing for the attention of the "consumer," make modern publicity altogether indispensable.

Use of Publicity in the Past

Prior to the establishment of the United States Employment Service, the public employment offices of this country made comparatively little effort to spread information regarding their work. Those in charge have not always realized the necessity or value of publicity except, perhaps, in the form of classified or other paid advertising: nor have funds been available for the purpose. More frequently have they been indifferent to it, however, or quite incapable of doing anything about it. But there is this exception, that some of the state and municipal offices on emergency occasions have carried on praiseworthy pieces of publicity. Yet these have usually been spasmodic and without relation to any long-time plan or program.

Far from spasmodic, on the other hand, was the publicity performance of the United States Employment Service. A publicity division was established in the central administrative office with a staff of publicity specialists. Moreover, the federal director of each state was instructed to make proper provision for publicity, and in some instances representatives from the central division were sent to assist them in its organization.

Many mediums of publicity were utilized: newspapers, including the foreign language press; public speaking; posters and other forms of printed matter; motion pictures; a weekly bulletin, nationally distributed; conspicuous signs designating the local offices of the Service; recruiting staffs before the armistice, and after the armistice "flying squadrons" to secure jobs; as well as other forms. From coast to coast this country knew that there was a national

employment service. People knew that its business prior to the armistice was to recruit workers, and after the armistice to place the demobilized. Its publicity division put the United States Employment Service "on the war map," so to speak. But it did more than that. It emphasized the importance of publicity and to some extent pointed the way.

Past experience has convincingly demonstrated that if the public employment office is to achieve its purpose it must make definite provision for educational work of this kind. It can no longer be merely optional, an extra which may or may not be included in the office program.

As a Local Office Function

Publicity work in a federal-state-local employment service becomes very largely the task of the local offices. Obviously, it is the immediate community in which an office is to be or has been established that in particular must be informed regarding it. Since the educating of any particular community is a continuous process, responsibility for its performance naturally is delegated to the local superintendent and the local employment committee, but leadership in the matter should be assumed by the superintendent.

Publicity for a local office is likely to be so extensive that necessity for organizing it within definite limits is at once evident. As a means to this end the local superintendent in co-operation with the local employment committee should work out a plan to cover a definite period, say six months, subject, of course, to the approval of the state director. At the end of the six months he should work out another plan for a succeeding period, and so on. The essential thing is that *there be a plan* and that its operation be supervised.[1]

Local Office Publicity Methods

Canvassing or Soliciting. There are certain forms of public employment office publicity which experience has shown to be very useful in every plan. One of these is the personal canvassing or soliciting of employers.

The interviewing of employers to inform them personally, in the beginning at least, of the purpose and policies of the office in order

[1] See Elements of a Social Publicity Program, by E. G. Routzahn. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, September, 1920.

to get their business and subsequently to hold it, is referred to in various ways: as field work; salesmanship; job soliciting; procurement work. That it is one of the most effective methods of informing employers and of "selling them the service" is unanimously agreed upon. Indeed, it is practiced to greater or less extent by almost every office. In order, however, to fulfil its possibilities as a form of publicity it must be carefully organized.

As indicated in the chapter discussing the classification of employment office functions,[1] canvassing employers, at least in the present stage of public employment office development, will in most cases be performed by regular interviewers rather than by full-time workers selected especially for this purpose. Not all interviewers will make equally effective representatives, but most of them can be trained to present the case for the office to employers intelligently, and on the whole to represent it creditably.[2] If, however, the available interviewers do not develop qualifications for this work, it is better not to have it done at all than to allow them to injure the case of the employment office by making a bad impression. In the smaller offices the superintendent himself should be able regularly to spend some of his time visiting employers. In the larger offices this might not always be possible. He should, however, give careful supervision. When for any reason more canvassing is necessary than can be done by the regular staff, the local employment committee should be called upon to assist.

Nor should the procedure to be followed in visiting employers be left to the discretion of each canvasser. It needs to be determined in advance. The very first step raises an important question—where shall the representative of the office begin his interviewing? It is generally agreed that on his first visit, at least, he should get to the man at the top. To have secured the latter's interest and cooperation in the public employment office is usually to secure that of his executives. The risk of consciously or unconsciously overstepping lines of authority is thus practically eliminated. Experience indicates in this case at least that it is more expeditious and

[1] Pages 253–273.

[2] Canvassing experience of this kind will prove valuable to interviewers in enabling them to secure information on conditions in particular plants and on details of particular jobs.

otherwise more effective to start at the top and go down the organization than to start at the bottom and go up. Moreover, the prestige value of contact with the chief executives of an organization outside it, as well as inside it, is considerable.

Frequently the "top" man directly or indirectly introduces the representative to one or more of the executives concerned with employment. This procedure, for obvious reasons, is much to be desired. If not in this way, then in some other must the representative subsequently make it his business to establish contact with the employment manager, if there is one, the foreman, and with the other executives. The better he comes to understand them and their methods and requirements the better equipped he is to serve them satisfactorily. Personal visits are of great aid to this end. In order, however, to know who's who, and to understand relative positions and authority, the representative of the public employment office must make it a point to inform himself at the beginning in respect to these things.

Much weight is attached to the approach, particularly the initial approach. With employers who are known to be very busy or otherwise inaccessible, a well-phrased letter in attractive typewritten form asking for an appointment, or a telephone call for the same purpose, usually gets the desired result. In smaller organizations where there is less formality, the right kind of representative can usually get an interview on the spot.

Every representative should be provided with business cards which, from the standpoint of stock and make-up, are in good taste and have, if not distinction, at least some positive publicity value.

The part which personal appearance plays in making an effective presentation of practically any cause, is too well known to be discussed in detail here. The thing to be remembered is that it may be a great asset or a great *liability*. A conscious effort should be exerted to make it the former instead of the latter.

Nor does space permit of any extended treatment of the psychology of capturing the attention and interest of employers or their executives. The attitude of begging the employer to "help the office out" is to be particularly avoided. The public employment service is not a philanthropic institution in need of donations of goodwill; it is a bona fide business and a competitive business, for

the present at least. Its representative must present the office to the employer with conviction and convince him of the value of the service as a necessary part of his industrial or commercial equipment. He must not act as if he were representing a relief agency, important and necessary as such agencies are.

The Subject Matter and Covering the Field in Canvassing. The public employment office admits of a wide range of talking points. To limit them to a few and to clinch these is better policy than to skip over the entire range. And these few, especially in the initial interview with an employer, it would seem feasible to confine to simple statements of the purpose of the office and its possibilities for serving him. The description should be in practical rather than in theoretical terms, and in specific rather than general. To employers who have been visited before, talking points can be well limited to pertinent news of the office, labor market conditions, particular applicants or groups of them who are available for employment, and the checking up on service given.

Then, again, employers will have to be informed as to their responsibility for giving complete specifications on orders, for returning verification cards, and to other similar matters.

These educational methods should be constantly improved upon. Under no circumstances should the local superintendent permit members of his own staff or of the local employment committee to visit employers without having been instructed as to methods of procedure.

Moreover, careful thought should be given to routing or scheduling canvassers. It has been the practice of most offices that have organized this work to assign a special territory to each person designated to visit employers. Other offices have made up a list of establishments in the community and assigned certain of them to particular members of the staff. In such cases one interviewer, whether a man or a woman, would represent all divisions and departments of the office.

A variation from this general practice was made by one office which organized its field work on an occupational basis. An interviewer in the boys' department made up lists of firms employing electricians and apprentices, and visited them to solicit openings and acquire special knowledge of the conditions surrounding this

particular occupation and its requirements. After an extensive interviewing of employers in this trade the examiner made a report on her findings. On the whole, organizing field work occupationally puts emphasis on educating the interviewer in the occupation selected. Education might be more economically provided in some other way. This practice also necessitates a number of visits by the office to any establishment in which there is more than one occupation and a number of different persons interviewing an employment manager for the same purpose. Canvassing on an occupational basis would seem justifiable only when a large number of workers or volunteers are available for this function, or when the supply of labor available is predominantly for one occupation.

After all, it must not be forgotten that perhaps the most significant factor to be considered in laying out canvassing plans for any period is the relation of the supply of labor to the demand. If the final object of canvassing, after the general purpose and methods of the service have been explained, is to get orders so that available workers may be placed in jobs, it is the available workers that on the whole should determine what industries are to be solicited. Moreover, canvassers should be armed with specific information regarding such workers. To solicit orders from employers where there is little or no chance of filling them is usually to antagonize and alienate those employers.

As to the time for canvassing, afternoons are less busy for the employment office than are mornings, and the end of the week usually less busy than the first of the week. However, the convenience of the office only must not be considered; care should be taken not to call upon employers at hours inconvenient or unpropitious to them. Certainly soliciting should not habitually be left to the last hour of each day. In making up schedules, the number of persons available for this work will of course play an important part in decisions.

A report should be made by each canvasser of every interview he has with an employer. Specially devised forms for this purpose would seem desirable. Such records would not only be valuable for reference purposes but would also serve as one means of supervising the canvassers.

Newspaper Publicity: News Space. The publication of items in the news, feature, and editorial columns of local papers is another form of publicity which every office ought to strive for. News, feature, and editorial space in the daily or weekly press, foreign-speaking as well as English, are important media for keeping the office before the public and for informing possible clients of its purpose, policies, and methods. News column publicity is a very important supplement to the use of advertising space and some superintendents think it much more effective than the latter. "Good newspaper publicity," states a former superintendent of the Los Angeles office, "is, indeed, compelling. Without it a public bureau can not succeed unless the paid matter is used beyond the limits of an ordinary budget." A public employment service should, however, seek publicity only on the basis of news value or editorial merit, not through friendships or influence. During an emergency it may be desirable to point out to newspapers their opportunity to render valuable aid to the community by co-operating with the service.

The alert superintendent will not lose much time in establishing friendly relations with editors and reporters; and he will supply them with as much material as his experience proves will be usable. Since a well-administered public employment office is an almost constant source of vital news, it is not difficult to persuade editors to put the employment office on the "beat" of some reporter. Nor should the editor and reporter be relied upon to do all the work. The superintendent should have some item that has news value for the reporter when he calls; also he, or members of his staff or members of the local employment committee, should write special articles or prepare material which the editors themselves can use. Articles illustrated by photographs or sketches have an additional appeal.

Of widespread interest is current information in relation to the condition of the labor market. The labor market letter issued monthly by the Boston office and circulated among the newspapers of the city was widely utilized by them. It was one of the first conscious attempts made by public employment offices to distribute their own news. Wisconsin followed the lead of Massachusetts, but later substituted a bulletin more in the nature of a house organ which it sent to a selected mailing list.[1] New York also for a

[1] Described more at length on page 517.

time published a labor market bulletin which it released to newspapers.

In addition to information on labor conditions there is in every office a wealth of "human interest" material. Care, however, must be taken in publishing stories that have their basis of fact in office case records, not to include anything which will injure or offend the subject of the record. This is a rule that must be inviolable. Nor should the employment office allow itself to be exploited in the interest of "yellow journalism." The following headlines taken from a Middle West daily paper illustrate the kind of article which should not be permitted:

BUREAU SAVES LAD FROM HOBO LIFE

Employment Office of State Statistician Finds Work for Youth on Verge of Wandering

JUST FREE FROM PLAINFIELD

New Start Encourages Despairing Young Man to Rise in World and Save His Wages

Moreover, this kind of article in the past has been a factor in building up the idea not infrequently met that public employment bureaus were engaged chiefly in finding jobs for "down-and-outs."

The newspaper publicity secured by the Los Angeles office during the war was so great in volume and so admirable in content that the superintendent's statement as to the policies and methods pursued is quoted below:

At the time of my appointment as Superintendent of the local bureau, the organization was more or less demoralized. Newspaper criticism was frequent. The situation was discouraging. I approached the editors of the local newspapers and told them we were off for a fresh start and urged them to give us a fair chance. They all did so, one, to the extent of publishing

daily our list of opportunities. I had any statements concerning particularly attractive orders for help typewritten; wrote articles about the domestic help situation and developed any phase of the routine which carried a new angle, so far as my limited time would permit. Monthly reports were typed and given to the press.

Reporters were encouraged to visit the office. They got to coming almost every day, and I made it a point never to let them get away without handing them some news concerning the bureau.

Items which have the essential human interest element are more easily accepted by the city editor. Monthly reports of placements and cost of operation were always good for a story. So were descriptions of interesting opportunities for employment (for example, those connected with the opening of the various harvest seasons, or the development of a project which indicated progress and prosperity to the community); occasional "freak stories" dignified but with perhaps a peculiar angle which appealed.

Besides this straight news stuff, there was the educational publicity which had to be got across. Not that the two kinds of material are mutually exclusive; by no means; only the emphasis is quite different; and at every possible chance I would offer the newspapers educational articles with such titles as:

> "Why the Employer Should Patronize the Public Employment Service"
> "The Public Employment Bureau as a Money Saver"
> "What the Public Employment Bureau Means to Los Angeles"

If the person in charge of a public employment office has a news sense and can secure and hold the co-operation of the newspaper fraternity, he will get steady publicity. A little item every day or two is far better than a spread once a month. It is the constant pegging away which impresses the name and service of the bureau upon the employer.[1]

Advertising Space. In order to compete with the fee charging agencies, who advertise extensively usually in or adjacent to the "Help Wanted" columns, many public employment office officials have emphasized the desirability of utilizing this same medium. Hardly a superintendent's report from 1890 to the present time fails to mention this. As far back as 1899 the superintendent of the Cincinnati office wrote:

There is no advertising other than what we get gratis. Yet the number

[1] From descriptive statement prepared by William L. Clark on request for this report.

of offices here with their grappling hooks always out to catch the public or the unfortunate individual seeking employment is large. Moreover, they are always advertising in the daily papers the opportunities they have. It can be readily seen what Cincinnati has to contend with.[1]

Several of the state statutes provide that superintendents may advertise in the columns of newspapers and of trade journals. The appropriations, however, have been so scant that on only special occasions has it been possible to advertise at all.

During the World War large United States Employment Service advertisements listing a number of opportunities appeared frequently in the "Help Wanted" sections of some of the metropolitan dailies. The cost of these was usually borne by individual employers or groups of them. This practice was a result of the government's control of the recruiting of labor.

The inadequate appropriations thus far granted the public employment offices have not warranted extensive newspaper advertising. Until greater funds are available, the service must rely largely on the many other media for publicity available to public employment offices. While the latter may not appeal to local office superintendents as being as effective as classified or other newspaper advertising, they are practically the only alternative.

This does not mean that the public employment office should never use paid advertising space. There are occasions when to do so might be the only feasible procedure.

In order, however, to prevent charges of discrimination by employers, advertising policy, particularly in recruiting certain kinds of applicants, must be very carefully determined. And if newspaper advertising space is used, the make-up of the advertisements in respect to certain fundamental requirements, such as size, layout, and type should be standardized by the state administrative office.

Public Addresses and Speaking. The spoken word, if reasonably well spoken, it is generally agreed, has a much greater carrying power over its audience than the written word. Its audience, however, at any one time is necessarily a comparatively limited one. But the number of audiences it is possible to reach is almost unlimited.

The organized groups of a locality afford ready-made audiences

[1] Twenty-third Annual Report of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year 1899, Columbus, p. 313.

for talks on the public employment office. Chambers of commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis and commercial clubs, and, in agricultural areas, farm bureaus, granges, and similar organizations would welcome on their program a speaker representing the public employment office. Likewise would trade unions and other organizations, civic, educational, religious, social, and non-English speaking nationality groups. Teachers' and parents' associations, women's clubs, and the like make excellent centers from which to spread information about the office.

Talks, of course, must be adapted to the group addressed. In the beginning at least the local superintendent and the local employment committee will probably have to take the initiative in directly requesting a place on the program of various meetings or in indirectly stimulating invitations to talk about the bureau.

Then, too, special meetings could be held, the sole object of which would be to make known the purpose and work of the office. One advantage of publicity work through speaking which should not be overlooked is the opportunity it affords for hearing questions from the floor and for clearing up important misconceptions and emphasizing points the significance of which may have been entirely underestimated.

Posters and Other Printed Matter. Printed posters can practically always be used to advantage. The expense incurred seems a legitimate one. Several of the state and municipal offices have issued them at various times; and the United States Employment Service both prior to and after the armistice distributed them broadcast.

In ordering posters thought should be given to the size, stock, color, typography, and layout. The ensemble should, of course, be such as to compel attention. For general purposes the more simplified the copy and the less of it the better. An effective head, the name, address, and telephone of the office, its divisions and possibly departments, and the fact that no fee is charged, would seem sufficient. In so far as possible it would be desirable to have the name and the type in which it is set uniform for all offices.[1]

[1] For a more detailed discussion of posters and other opportunities for using graphic methods see The A B C of Exhibit Planning, by E. G. and M. S. Routzahn, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1918.

In centers where there are large enough non-English speaking groups to justify them, posters if used should be printed in the different foreign languages.

Post offices, schools, libraries, railroad stations, hotels, and other buildings or places frequented by large numbers of people all suggest themselves as excellent for the display of such posters.

Much less frequently than posters have car cards been used by public employment offices. The question of cost needs to be carefully considered, for not only must the card be provided but usually the space also must be paid for. Shortly after the establishment of the State Public Employment Office in Brooklyn, New York, one of its public-spirited citizens donated a given amount of car card space in the subway and elevated trains running through Brooklyn for the purpose of advertising the office. Where such co-operation can be had or very low rates can be secured this method will be found useful and practicable.

The cost of printed leaflets or pamphlets for mailing purposes as well as the great uncertainty of their value has prevented any very wide use of them by public employment offices. They have, however, been issued by the original municipal office in New York City and by a few others. Many of the fee-charging offices, particularly those handling commercial and professional workers, have circulated them. They are a great convenience in answering general inquiries, serving as a supplement to or as a substitute for letters. It is realized that they have not yet been worked out with sufficient care and skill to give them a fair test of usefulness.

Calendars, blotters, telephone pads, and the like have only here and there been resorted to.

Form Letters. Another type of publicity used spasmodically by almost all offices at some time or another has been form letters. Nor have they been entirely futile. Usually they have been mimeographed, but their make-up and copy have frequently been so crude and so devoid of the attention-arresting element that more often than not they have contributed, if noted at all, to an unfavorable rather than to a favorable impression of the office.

A few superintendents have considered it good business to mail at frequent intervals to a selected list of employers statements or bulletins describing the qualifications of 20 or 30 applicants.

Photo by Hiram Myers, New York

WINDOW SIGN OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA—FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA

The Employment Service of Canada has adopted this design as a standard window sign. The circular band, between the two outer lines, is in gold, with the name, Employment Service of Canada, in black letters. On the white background of the inner circle and surrounding the crest of the province in which the sign is to be used, appear in color the shields of all the other provinces together with that of the Dominion itself.

Photo by Hiram Myers, New York

ADVERTISING SIGNS ON A NEW YORK OFFICE

The occupancy of an entire building by the United States Employment Service at 22 East 22d Street, New York, gave opportunity for effective sign publicity. The Women's Division was on the ground floor, and the Men's Division on the floors above. Each had its own entrance.

Signs and Windows. Certainly every office unit of a nation-wide employment service ought to provide some method of identifying itself. The most common is through signs and window lettering. In order to net their maximum publicity value throughout the country the content and the form of both should be standardized. The manual issued by the Training Division of the United States Employment Service contained instructions that all signs and lettering of exclusively federal offices should be as follows:

United States Department of Labor
United States Employment Service

and those of offices maintained jointly by the federal government and any state or municipality or both should read:

United States Department of Labor
United States Employment Service
Co-operating with
(Name of state or city or both)

Uniformity in the name of the Employment Service of Canada is provided for in the agreement between the Dominion and the provincial governments. Already the Service has adopted a "trade mark." Its policy is to use this trade mark not only on outside signs and on windows, but also on stationery and all other printed matter where the name would naturally appear.

When a division or a department of any office occupies quarters apart from those in which the general office is housed, this fact must be indicated by an outside sign or by the lettering on the window or by both.

In the larger cities electric signs are effective. One of the best used by the United States Employment Service was that on the outside of its building on Twenty-second Street, New York. (Reproduced on the opposite page.)

Telephone Listing. It is the consensus of opinion among employment office workers that the office should be listed in the telephone directory under practically every heading that its name admits of; namely, *employment, public, state, etc.;* and in the classified directory. To do so would seem to be amply worth the cost.

Publicity in the State Office

Responsibility for the publicity of the state administrative office in a federal-state-local employment service would be for the most part in regard to policy and supervision. Some direct publicity would also be required.

As has been suggested, policy should be determined in respect to publicity plans in general and to methods in particular; namely, canvassing, classified, and other paid newspaper advertising; and the various other forms of publicity likely to be employed by local offices. In accordance with these policies, the publicity work of local offices should be carefully supervised by the state director, his assistant or special supervisor.

The direct publicity of the state administrative office would be concerned almost entirely with the dissemination of information and the creation of goodwill in respect to those aspects of the service that have state-wide applications. The plans and activities of the state administrative office itself, the achievement of the state service as a whole or of special divisions or departments of it, reports of labor market conditions throughout the state, all have news value. The administrative office must see that this kind of information is made available to the press of the state. This can most easily be done by sending "copy" to the news syndicates which operate throughout the state.

There are certain special groups, state legislators, for example, to whom the state administrative office should make every possible effort to present intelligently the purpose, policies, and performance of the service and its economic and social significance. Personal conference is by no means the least effective way of dealing with such a group. One of the most far-seeing, thoughtful, and successful state superintendents in a discussion of methods of getting support for the service remarked, "Nail your legislators, bring home to them in some concrete way just what the service can do. If they send any of their friends to you for a job, and the latter can do anything, turn heaven and earth upside down till you land them something. You may question the ethics of this—I don't. It's the only way to make them realize what a public employment office can do." There is doubtless sufficient ground for such tactics when done only

occasionally for educational purposes at strategic points. The Service, however, must see to it that it is not open to charges of favoritism; and the best methods to this end are to give a high grade of service to all.

Talks by the state director or such representative as he may choose to state organizations of employers, labor unionists, farmers, and the like have their value.

Responsibility for the initial publicity in a local community which needs an office, to induce the local authorities to defray the fixed charges of such, as well as for the publicity which is desirable prior to the actual establishment of an office already provided for, should be borne by the state administrative office.

A monthly bulletin such as the one formerly "issued every little while from the west wing of the capitol by the Employment Office Department of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission," is another type of publicity to be performed by the state administrative office. It was essentially a house organ, an intimate and instructive budget of some seven or eight mimeographed sheets, some of it in a light vein. One copy, for example, contains an article on "The Labor Scout" by the superintendent of one of the local offices; "Suggestions to Private Recruiters," "Systematic Filing of the O. K.'s," an analysis of the annual employment office statistics, short news items about the local offices, personals, and some "mostly sheer wit." This, together with a blueprint of the statistics was mailed to all the offices, to the economics department of the university and the colleges in the state, to certain newspapers, and to a selected list of individuals and institutions.

Federal Office Publicity

In addition to making available to the press news of the activities of its own office, including reports on labor market conditions throughout the country, the federal Service might also issue a monthly publication similar to the (former) *Industrial Employment Survey Bulletin*, and to *The Month's Work* of the British Labour Exchanges.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PREMISES AND LAYOUT OF LOCAL OFFICES

THE public employment service of this country has almost run the gamut in the kinds of buildings it has occupied. While common sense would seem to be a sufficient guide in determining the amount, character, and location of the space needed for its offices, experience shows that quite other considerations have governed their selection.

Location and Housing of Offices of the Pre-war Period

When not located in the basement of a city hall, a county court house, or a state capitol, the early state and municipal offices were usually relegated to a by-street on the edge if not in the midst of the city's "hobo" quarter. Here they consorted with fifteen-cent lodging houses, second-hand clothes, pawn and junk shops. And they were even more wretchedly housed, sometimes in basements and sometimes up narrow, dingy stairways none too safe. That such an environment was a very great handicap to the offices goes without saying. This was reflected in their clientèle of both employers and applicants.

In 1906 the Public Employment Service in Boston, by establishing itself on a side street closely adjoining a main thoroughfare, in ample floor space with special provision for women applicants, inaugurated a new standard. This was later adopted and improved upon in other cities. The Brooklyn office in particular has been exceedingly well housed in a new building occupied exclusively by offices of the State of New York. It is, however, somewhat remote from the "beaten track." A more ideal location was that of the Los Angeles office, at the time when all of its departments were centralized in an office building on one of the main streets of the city.

Opinion differs as to the desirability of housing a public employment office in a city hall or other public building. The main advan-

Photo by Angelus, Portland, Oregon

MEN'S DIVISION OF UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE IN PORTLAND, OREGON

The space occupied by this office was exceedingly good. It was on the ground floor, had two entrances, and was well lighted.

tage is that the rent is free; and when budgets are small, rent is a large item of expense. Much depends on the type of the city hall, its location, and the space allotted to the employment office. If, as in Cleveland, the city hall is on the edge of the business section, a monument to the city and comparatively free from political atmosphere; and if the space occupied by the employment office is more desirable and extensive than it could pay for in a privately owned building, the city hall would seem the practical choice. If, on the other hand, the city hall is itself undesirably located, sordidly housed, and the public employment office occupies part of the basement space, some of which may be devoted to city departments serving those in need of charitable aid, it affords most unsatisfactory quarters.

On the assumption that popular opinion does and would connect the public employment office housed in a city hall or capitol with politics, and that any space in such a building would therefore be rendered unsatisfactory, Wisconsin has decreed that *no public employment office under the jurisdiction of the State and the city in which it is established shall be housed in a city hall, a county court house or the state capitol.*

The United States Employment Service Offices

It was the United States Employment Service that first saw the value of good premises and capitalized this value most fully. War emergencies made rental space a comparatively insignificant factor. Labor had to be recruited. The main general offices of the Service almost without exception were situated in the heart of the business center of the city. Usually the district offices and those engaged in special work were equally well located to fulfil their particular purpose. Even the site of the administrative offices when they were separate from a placement office was carefully selected.

On the whole, the premises which the United States Employment Service occupied were exceedingly satisfactory. A good many of the offices were housed in a commanding store or office building and were commodious, light, well ventilated, and in most cases well kept. From this point of view the Service took its place among the more progressive business institutions in the community.

Usually in a general office, the men's and women's divisions were

housed together on the ground floor, always in so far as we could discover, with separate entrances. Occasionally, however, the women's division occupied space in the second floor of the same building, although the reverse was true in at least one instance. Again, in some of the larger cities, the women's division was housed in an office building quite apart from the men's division and was regarded more or less as a separate bureau. Where juvenile divisions have been established, they have usually been housed in space adjoining the women's division.

Particularly spacious were the men's divisions in some of the western cities—great deskless, benchless halls with a huge counter over which applicants were interviewed, or with partitions containing a series of windows through which the examiner "sized up" an applicant. Quite contrary to instructions from headquarters, colossal blackboards decorated the walls or were affixed to the columns that often supported the ceilings of the halls, listing in gay letters the available jobs. These were essentially recruiting offices, designed to handle a large volume of business.

Of the offices doing a special kind of work, the location of that for skilled men in New York City was considered particularly desirable, as were also other aspects of its premises. It was situated at 1184 Broadway on the ground floor of an office building with considerable window frontage. This space had formerly been occupied by a large railroad ticket office.[1]

Since the decline of the war emergency employment service many of the state offices have not been able to continue in the locations which financial assistance from the federal Service had made possible. They have, however, duplicated them to the best of their financial ability.

The somewhat extensive experience of the wartime service has demonstrated that certain requirements in respect to location and premises should be fulfilled if the offices are to function satisfactorily.

[1] See photograph reproduced opposite page 524 for interior of this office.

Standards for the Location and Housing of Employment Offices

These requirements may be summed up briefly as follows:

1. Location
   a. For single general offices, a location on one of the main streets of the community as near as possible to points of densest traffic
   b. For an office doing special work a location at a point central to the residence of the large majority of the workers, or the industry, or industries which the office is established to serve
2. Adequate window and entrance frontage
3. Floor space on the street level
4. In a general office, separate entrance for women
5. Special provision for juniors with separate entrance or with same entrance as for women and girls
6. Adequate interior space.

The Layout of the Office

Little expert study backed by results has been undertaken in the matter of employment office layout. The best possible use has been made, in the light of the experience and information of those in charge, of the rooms which low appropriations have made necessary. Some results have been very good: many quite otherwise. The great variety in the amount of and kind of space occupied by employment offices has necessarily made for an equally great variety in floor plans.

Ends to be Attained by Layout

The layout and equipment of an employment office are themselves only a means to an end, just as the arrangement of aisles and seats in a theater are only a means to a comfortable enjoyment of what takes place upon the stage. There is a great difference between the two cases, however—a theater is usually designed and built for the purpose, and an employment office in the past has been, and in the near future is still likely to be, obliged to adapt its needs to the most suitable quarters that happen to be available. A discussion on the physical requirements of an employment office can only set forth as a guide in the selection of quarters and their altera-

tion the objects to be attained by the layout; the exigencies of the real estate market, the cost of rent, and the restrictions on alterations make an approximation of the desired end alone possible. For this reason it is quite fruitless to present "model" layouts.

Separation of Groups. The first thing is to have entrances, exits, waiting rooms, and other spaces so arranged that different groups of applicants, whose mingling would be resented by themselves or would be undesirable from the point of view of orderliness or public interest, may be separated from one another. This has been attained in varying degrees by the provision of separate entrances and exits, attention to the arrangement of waiting rooms, of aisles, of interviewers' desks or rooms, and the use of partitions.

Routing of Applicants. The layout must so determine the course and distribution of applicants that it will automatically accomplish the following results:

(a) Prevent congestion in any one part of the office
(b) Make easy the maintenance of orderliness and discipline
(c) Make easy the movement or "flow" of applicants from entrance of waiting room to the interviewers' desks and to the exit
(d) Prevent loafing (on the other hand, insure the comfort of such applicants as the office desires to have present)
(e) Speed up the whole process as much as is consistent with good work (by elimination of congestion and friction)
(f) Insure each a fair turn at the interviewer's desks.

These ends will be attained by such utilization of space as will enable the office to distribute its work so that it is not focussed at one or two points. The arrangement of the interviewers' desks or the interviewing rooms toward which different groups of applicants are moving will help accomplish this. Aisles and handrails, as well as benches or chairs, can be used effectively to prevent congestion. The calculation of amount of floor space in relation to the relative numbers of different groups must be pretty closely made. The routing of applicants to an exit without returning them through other lines or rooms of waiting applicants prevents confusion and what is just as important, prevents the fellow who has just been interviewed from telling all he knows to those who are waiting. All parts of the office should be within sight of some official.

General Attractiveness Which Makes Office a Place Applicants "Like to Come to." It is true that the spirit or atmosphere of an office is determined by the personality of the officials, but the color of the walls, decorations, cleanliness, lighting, possibly magazines in some departments, all contribute a great deal. Suitable chairs or benches, light, heat, ventilation, toilet facilities, and so forth, promote the comfort of applicants. Moreover, the separation of groups induces a feeling of satisfaction which the forced mingling with uncongenial people quite destroys. Each department should be designed to meet the taste of its clientèle.

Confidential and Frank Relation Between Applicant and Interviewer. In the past the use of a counter or even of desks which could be approached by other applicants while the interview was in progress have in too many offices prevented a satisfactory interview. Not only must other applicants be kept at a sufficient distance so that they cannot overhear the conversation, but they must not by their position interfere with that *feeling of privacy and confidence between interviewer and applicant* which is so important. To have an applicant sit with his back to other applicants may be a solution; at any rate the subject must be given consideration.

Comfort and Efficiency of Staff. Light, heat, ventilation, cleanliness of office, some opportunity for personal privacy, placement of desks, and so on, are most important considerations in making for the comfort and efficiency of the office staff.

Supervision of Office. The location of the superintendent's desk in a strategic position for supervision is another important consideration in the layout of an office. The use of handrails instead of partitions to separate departments has been urged by experienced superintendents as a means of making all parts of the office visible. Partitions with transparent glass panels such as are used in a few offices might serve the purpose and at the same time prevent voices from carrying too far.

Accessibility of Files, Telephones, and Supplies. An arrangement that makes files, telephones, and supplies easily available to all clerks and interviewers needs no argument; nor does the accessibility of the different departments of the office to each other.

Privacy of Telephone Conversations. Privacy of telephone conversations, particularly in taking employers' orders and in long-

distance calls, is most important. Many an order has been overheard as the clerk repeated it within hearing of applicants and been "stolen" by someone who sneaked out to apply. Then, too, there are occasions where frankness of expression over the telephone is most desirable, but this is impossible if the interviewer is to be overheard by a roomful of applicants. A sound-proof booth might solve the problem where it is impracticable for interviewers to go to another room.

The picture shown on the page opposite represents the layout of the previously mentioned office for skilled male workers established at 1184 Broadway, New York City, by the war emergency employment service. This office was designed as a "model." Nor did it fall far short of being ideal from the point of view of layout. Although few offices at this time possess its amount of floor space, it is included here as illustrating many of the objectives which we have already set forth.

As applicants entered they applied at the information desk. Here they were questioned as to the trade in which they were seeking employment and directed to the proper section. The applicant then proceeded down the center aisle and entered the gate of the section to which he had been directed. The clerk at one of the desks in the section directed him to the proper chair so that he would be attended to in turn. When that came he was called by the examiner and requested to take a seat opposite the latter's desk where he was interviewed. When the interview was ended the applicant went out of the section by the door at the left next to the wall, walked up to the front of the office, and passed out at the front door.

The routing of applicants was thus well expedited. Privacy of interview was ensured; the telephone switchboard and the order clerk were provided for in a quiet spot; and the location of the chief examiner's office made it possible for him to "keep an eye" on what was happening. The color of the walls was agreeable and the office was well equipped, well heated and light, and kept in good condition. It was thus comfortable and attractive to both applicants and the staff.

Photo by Underwood & Underwood

A Public Employment Office for Skilled Men

The general layout of the United States Employment Office at 1184 Broadway, New York, and the routing of applicants are here shown. The applicant proceeded down the center aisle and entered the gate of the section to which he had been directed by the information clerk. He was there assigned a seat and in his turn took the chair facing the interviewer. After the interview, the applicant left the section by an exit into the aisle which runs along the wall at the left of the picture.

PART FOUR

METHODS OF WORKING WITH GROUPS REQUIRING SPECIAL SERVICE

By
FREDERICK A. KING

CHAPTER XXIX

FARM LABOR

THUS far our discussion of public employment offices has been concerned mainly with the general administrative measures and procedures and the general methods of serving employers and workers. There are, however, as already indicated, several important groups of workers for whom, because of the nature of their qualifications and the conditions and circumstances of their labor, it is imperative that special service and facilities be provided. As with all other specialized work, in certain placement tasks expert assistance is called for on the part of office interviewers. Some staff members, therefore, should be equipped with information regarding the problems likely to be encountered in performing them and a general knowledge of the requirements of the workers to be served. We will now give our attention to these groups and to certain variations from the general office practice which experience has shown to be of value.[1] The question of farm labor will first be taken up.

Farm Labor Seasonal and Scattered

The farming industry of this country ranges from the diversified crops of the eastern and middle western states, and truck gardening near the centers of population and the cotton and tobacco raising of the South, to the great wheat and fruit growing farms and cattle ranches in the West. Under such extensive and varying circumstances as these, a wide field is offered for supplying farm labor through organizing means.

In earlier chapters we have indicated some of the reasons why such organized assistance is especially needed and why public employment offices naturally tend to develop their service to meet agricultural needs. First of all, the demand for labor in farming

[1] Skilled workers as a group are not included here in Part Four, since the special requirements needed by offices dealing with them have been discussed in earlier chapters. See especially pages 330 to 339.

sections is spread over wide areas with the prospective employer in many cases an isolated unit requiring only one or but a few hands. And where the farmer is a producer on but a small scale he must frequently depend on his own narrow resources. This differentiates him at once from the urban employer with his specialized methods of business organization and facilities for recruiting workers.

The demand for farm labor too is seasonal in the main, fluctuating greatly at certain periods; and during the winter months many farm workers must return to the cities where they help to swell the numbers of unemployed. It is estimated that there are approximately 3,000,000 transient farm laborers throughout the country.[1] Again, the supply of more experienced workers in the country districts is often soon exhausted at the height of seasonal activities such as plowing, seeding, and harvesting. It is then that, for the benefit of both workers and farmers, the industrial centers must be drawn upon.

It is significant also that with the drift of population away from rural communities the recruiting of seasonal farm labor in urban districts must be undertaken in an increasing degree. This movement cityward has been due in no small part to the individual worker's prospects of more steady employment and greater wage returns in shops and factories. But whatever the reasons may be for this shifting in population, it still continues. Indeed it has become so marked that for the first time in the country's history the balance of population is no longer rural but centers in cities and towns.[2]

Such considerations as these, therefore, fulfil to a marked degree the conditions under which public employment offices have an opportunity to function; and they apply especially to offices strategetically situated in the larger industrial centers.

A few offsetting factors, it is true, have made for a greater steadiness in the employment of farm labor in recent years. Among them are the more extended use of labor saving machinery and the wider introduction of diversified farming with the services

[1] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XL, March, 1912, p. 42.

[2] United States Census, 1920, Vol. I, p. 43.

of hired help spread more evenly over the year. Yet the situation in general has not changed greatly, and neither the one nor the other factor has been sufficient to silence the farmer's frequent appeals to city dwellers to "help save the crops."

Failure to Extend Service Directly to Farming Communities

The orderly recruiting and distribution of farm labor is one of the biggest questions public employment offices have had to face. A farm labor department in the centralized public office is therefore most necessary; and considerable opportunity is offered for obtaining recruits from the general run of applicants with only a comparatively slight extension of office facilities and staff. Moreover, as will appear later in the discussion, the public office may become the rallying point for co-operating agencies in any crisis.

It must be admitted, however, that in spite of the need for public offices in this field they have largely failed to function during the greater part of their history in one important respect. There has been from the standpoint of administration a failure to extend the service directly to farming communities. This has been one of the lessons of wartime experience; and what is involved in organization for such an extension of service will be suggested later in describing the work of public offices under wartime conditions. Possible exceptions to this statement may be noted, such as the early provisions made for handling harvest hands in the Central Wheat Belt, and an occasional reaching out into country districts by a few public employment offices. But aside from these few exceptions, not until special conditions of labor shortage during the war had brought the situation forcibly before the country were the farmers' interests served over more than limited areas adjoining industrial centers.

At the time of special need during the war, old hand-to-mouth policies of administration were at last discarded and the first attempt made on a nation-wide scale to assist the farmers through public employment offices and other agencies. Following the armistice these activities came to a speedy end, and we are now faced with the question as to what methods have stood the test of experience and thus may be of service either in a future great crisis or under more normal conditions.

Types of Farm Labor

Farm labor may be said to include the following: experienced farmhands employed for eight or nine months or throughout the year, as in dairying and diversified farming; seasonal workers, more or less skilled and engaged in such occupations as haying, fruit gathering, and corn husking; and harvest hands, skilled to some extent, but whose major qualities are physical strength and endurance. Laborers, chiefly Negroes, known as share croppers in the South and south central states, are still another group, but they are not included here as their conditions of employment differ from those under discussion.[1]

As this classification indicates, the bulk of farm labor is not highly specialized. Yet a considerable degree of skill and experience is called for. This is contrary to general impression among city dwellers who apparently fail to realize that no farmer will turn over to a green hand the care of an $800 team of horses or an $1,800 traction engine. The farm placement examiner in the public office, therefore, must have special qualifications for his task. There are also certain difficulties he must face which are peculiar to the handling of this group of workers.

Difficulties of Farm Labor Placement

One of the chief obstacles to the work of the placement examiner is that the farmer is often unfamiliar with employment office methods. He may therefore find fault with the work of the office when his own lack of co-operation contributes directly to unsatisfactory service. For example, he may fail to notify the office of an intended visit and find no applicants to be interviewed on his arrival. He may fail to meet the applicant promptly at the railroad station upon notice from the office of the intended arrival, with the result that his man is snapped up by someone else. Or after placing an order, he sometimes fails to notify the office that he has hired help elsewhere, and as a result the referred applicant is sent on a wild-goose chase with a needless expense of money and time.

Again, it is often necessary to inform farmers tactfully that

[1] See Chapter XXXIV, which discusses the placement of Negro workers, page 605.

orders hastily scrawled on a postcard to "send me a good man" are not enough to get any man at all, without further correspondence and delay. Farmers must also be kept posted regarding going wages for farm help, and informed that these must be met if he expects competent workers. And he must understand that the examiner's selection of the applicant is not a hit-or-miss affair. In short, the particular situation is complicated by many of the difficulties common to the individual selection of applicants with the added handicap of long-distance placement.

It is obstacles such as these that need to be kept in mind in considering the methods of placement to be followed. And since the farmhand frequently lives as a member of the farmer's own household, the office must not only find men with some farming skill, but must use special care to select workers likely to be personally suitable.

General Placement Methods in Local Office

The placement examiner then must be specially qualified for his work, including experience either at farming or in an employment office. It is desirable that he have a general knowledge of farm conditions, and especially of local conditions in the area served by the office. As an aid to the examiner, special office facilities should be provided which will permit privacy in interviewing, and also accommodate farmers who call at the office for the purpose of hiring workers. In the larger offices, for example, the farm department should not be operated in connection with that for unskilled labor where only brief interviews are the rule and men are frequently handled in groups. Extra office hours are also necessary for the convenience of employers, such as keeping open evenings and Saturday afternoons. Moreover, as already suggested the necessity for tact in explaining to the farmer employment office methods cannot be overemphasized.

Considerable correspondence must be carried on with farmers by the examiner in charge and this may make the work heavier than in other departments. In one office special order blanks are sent out at the opening of the season to former patrons with an accompanying form letter giving approved methods of hiring help. Emphasis is placed on notification by the farmer of an intended

visit to the office so that applicants may be on hand to be interviewed. Publicity by means of press notices and advertisements should also be secured through papers having a rural circulation.

Office representatives should spend some time in visiting country districts in areas adjoining the different offices before the season opens. On these visits talks may be given at farmers' institutes for the purpose of explaining the service and soliciting early orders. It is a good time also to distribute business cards. In this way much effective work can be done, for it is as essential to meet the farmer on his own ground and find out his requirements as it is in city districts to carry on ordinary factory canvassing and to keep posted on manufacturing processes.

In order to keep in touch with farmers who have placed orders in the office, the long-distance telephone should be used as a substitute for the mails. Where telephone service is lacking other methods have proved valuable. A Wisconsin office makes it a point to give the prospective employer in person or to forward by mail a special postcard which is to be returned promptly to the office if the position has been filled outside the office, and before the office has had an opportunity to refer an applicant.

In referring a farm worker, some offices at the same time mail a card to the prospective employer notifying him of such referral. Attached to this notice is a return card which the farmer is instructed to mail back at once to the office if the person sent fails to arrive. Verifications of placements made should also be secured through return postcards.

Service may be given to married men with families who hire out by the month or year; but farm renters and settlers are generally served better through agents of state departments of agriculture who have facilities for obtaining information regarding crops and land values.

Wartime Administrative Methods

The chief features of the national wartime administration as it affected the farmer were the appointing of farm labor representatives in the federal employment service in a number of states, and establishment of a farm service division at Washington as the directing head of the organization. The federal Department of Agriculture also created the office of farm help specialist. Four

supervising and 37 state officers with this title were added to the small army of county agricultural agents in the various states. While the duties of the county agents had been ordinarily to give information and advice on farm management, assistance in obtaining labor was now added. And in order that these two federal departments might proceed with a common purpose, a working agreement was adopted and a representative of the Department of Agriculture was detailed to the Department of Labor at Washington. The assistance of other organizations was also enlisted, such as State Departments of Agriculture, State Councils of Defense, the Public Service Reserve, Boys' Working Reserve, and Woman's Land Army; and other special machinery for the distribution of harvest hands in the Central Grain Belt was also instituted.

Organization in a Single State Under Diversified Farming Conditions

In Ohio, where long term and seasonal help are in demand, a businesslike plan to meet labor needs was initiated in 1917 by the State Council of National Defense, which resulted in a much greater degree of efficiency than had heretofore been obtained in the handling of farm labor. During the first season more than 7,000 farmhands were supplied. In this experiment the public employment offices played an important part, and the methods used have practical suggestions for developing the peace time service.[1]

The main placement machinery consisted of seven state-city offices under the State Industrial Commission, with a central clearing office situated at Columbus. Fifteen other offices were supported in part by local communities and each covered several counties. In addition, over 400 local representatives were selected in farming centers comprising interested citizens, town clerks, grange and bank officials. These volunteered their services in taking individual orders for farmhands and distributing help sent out from the different offices. Instructions were given to representatives regarding general methods of operating the offices and taking orders. The part-time aid of agricultural agents and food commissioners in the different counties was also enlisted; and their help

[1] See Distribution of Farm Labor in Ohio, by W. M. Leiserson. *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1918, pp. 53–63.

was assured under direction of a chief farm agent or farm help specialist maintained co-operatively by the State Agricultural College and the United States Department of Agriculture, and stationed at the central clearance office, the headquarters of the State Director of Employment.

Thus, rural communities throughout the state were linked together and controlled centrally through the state clearing office. Through the state-city offices the general supply of workers was drawn upon in industrial centers. And it was found that by means of this control from a single point the assistance of volunteer civic organizations could be directed with much better results than might otherwise have attended their efforts; for the recruiting of farm help through local organizations has been too often accompanied by misleading and unwise newspaper publicity. In fact, in the operation of this plan no encouragement was given the usual news campaigns which feature farm "drives" at the beginning of the season.

Experience has shown that this form of advertising is often promoted by a desire to "boost" local needs at the expense of neighboring communities, and that it may seriously hinder the orderly direction of workers seeking employment. Too often it is based on exaggerated "estimates" of labor demands made in advance of actual needs. In such estimates usually no account is taken of the fluctuating demands for labor at different periods throughout the season; and the movements of short-time workers from one locality to another as one job is completed and another secured are equally disregarded. It frequently happens, moreover, that other sources of labor supply become available as the season advances and demands increase.

Definite steps were taken to counteract any such unreliable information which might reach the public. This was done by first obtaining detailed information as to needs of individual farmers covering a period of only a month's time. Early in the season employment superintendents were required personally to make a first canvass of their districts for orders. Meetings with farmers' organizations were held, volunteer representatives were appointed in local communities, and the assistance of county farm bureau agents was secured.

After individual orders from farmers had been obtained in this way, and with the help of subsequent daily and monthly reports from local offices to the central clearing station, the general organization was in a position to undertake a newspaper campaign free from objectionable features. Both the central office and local superintendents directed the publicity work. This was in the form of "safe" advertising, which pictured to the workers the lower cost of living in the country and the actual savings which could be made over city employment. The location of employment offices where workers could obtain reliable information was also given. Farmers too were kept informed of going wage rates and the location of agencies where orders for help could be placed.

In short, the Ohio campaign emphasized three significant features in the distribution of farm labor: the necessity for organizing various agencies under central direction and control; use of the public employment offices for this purpose; and the value of a general publicity campaign conducted from a single point, the state clearance office.

Other Methods Used Under Diversified Farming Conditions

Several other methods employed previous to the war in reaching out into farming districts to distribute labor may be indicated. A notable example has been the "mail order" plan of distributing labor as followed by the United States Department of Labor and by some state labor bureaus. It consisted mainly in attempting to "match" employers' orders and the applications of workers through correspondence, but failed to accomplish its purpose with the possible exception of the distribution of harvest labor in the central states.

More successful was the method adopted in Wisconsin in recent years. Individual orders from farmers for skilled help were pooled by a bank representative chosen in a town near the farmer, and then handled by the Milwaukee office. Subsequently a representative of the public office made an annual visit to meetings of farmers' organizations and acquainted farmers with public office procedure.

In California the farm labor problem is different from that of most states. Here specialized farming prevails, much of it on a

large scale, and migratory labor is used extensively. Under the wartime federal service and in co-operation with the state public offices no less than 40 seasonal offices were established with paid officials.[1] One of the chief advantages in their operation was to draw upon the local labor supply within a given area in meeting seasonal needs, and the necessity for importing workers from the cities was thus obviated to some extent.

Conditions in the Central Wheat Belt

So much for the advantages of a systematic campaign for distributing farm labor in districts where for the most part long term and moderately seasonal help is in demand for general farm work. What is to be said of the situation in the Central Wheat Belt where the demand is highly seasonal and large numbers of harvest hands are needed?

In the season of 1919, for example, it is estimated that from 75,000 to 100,000 workers flocked to Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska from other states.[2] As might be expected, the make-up of this large army of recruits was extremely diverse. Thus, a record regarding 14,000 hands made by the federal service in 1919 indicated that about one-third were farmers and farm laborers, another third listed themselves as common laborers, and many trades and professions were represented in the remaining third.[3]

Here, indeed, an opportunity is afforded for organized effort in recruiting and distributing workers such as is scarcely paralleled in other fields of industry. For here we find assembled each summer in the wheat fields of the central West what is without doubt the largest army of transient laborers throughout the country. And we may well ask to what extent do methods of organizing such as those already suggested, apply to conditions in this great section of the country? In attempting to answer this question we must reject at the outset the picture so attractively drawn, of an army of workers marshalled in orderly array and advancing in successive waves upon the gradually ripening harvest. For it must be admitted that

[1] Emergency Farm Labor Agencies. Bulletin, University of California, College of Agriculture, Berkeley, July, 1918.

[2] United States Department of Labor, Bulletin, July 26, 1919. Mimeographed.

[3] United States Employment Service. Report of Director General, Washington, 1919, p. 49.

not even with the extensive placement machinery of the federal wartime service was more than a measure of success attained. Many workers still relied on their own efforts to secure employment through direct correspondence with farmers; and word-of-mouth information passed on from one person to another, nicknamed the "Hobo Gazette," still remained a favored method.

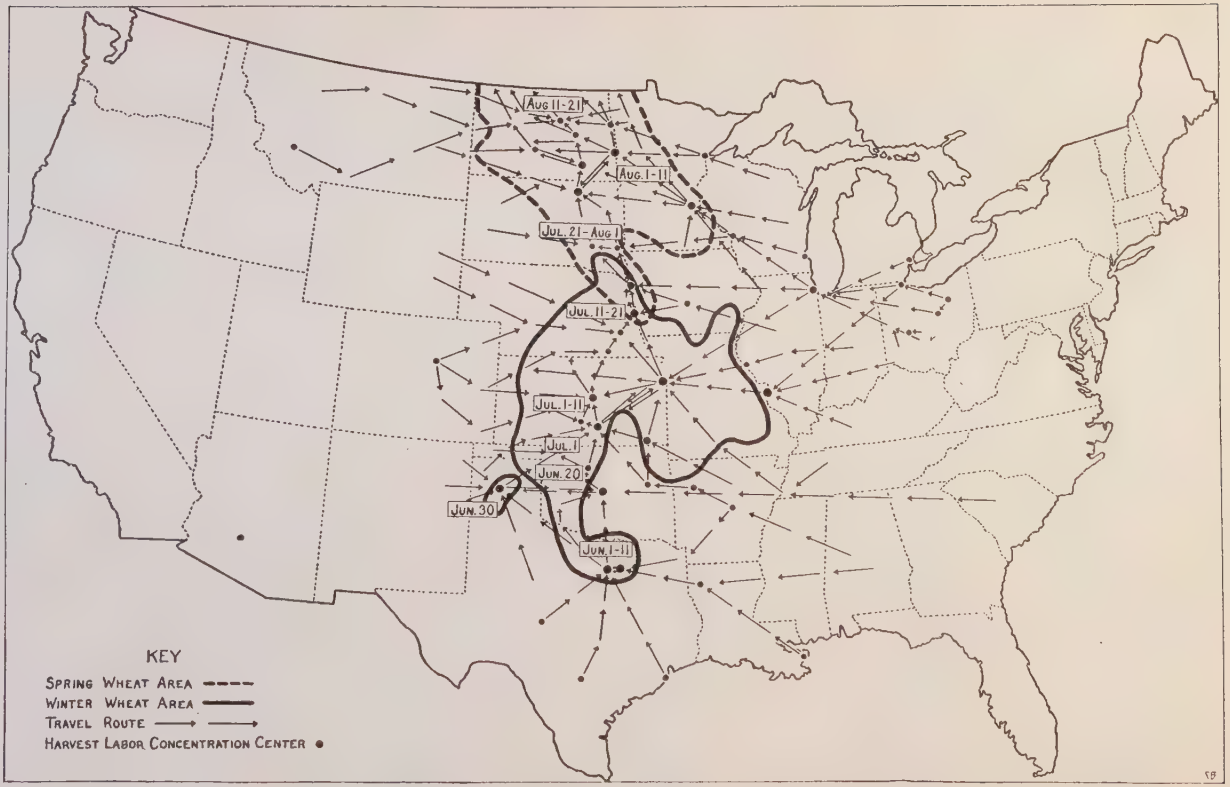
First among the obstacles to the effective distribution of harvest hands through official agencies was the huge demand for men which ran into the tens of thousands, and which attracted not only workers in the Mississippi Valley, but men from states west of the Central Wheat Belt and as far east as the Atlantic coast. The records of 14,000 workers already referred to for the season of 1919 showed that they came from every state in the Union but two.

Moreover, the call for laborers comes from a wide area as it reaches across state lines and occasionally the international boundary as well. Beginning in Texas the "Big Wheat Belt" stretches to the north through the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas and covers a territory which is extensive even for the professional migrant.[1] The harvest season begins early in June in Oklahoma and Texas and progresses northward, reaching the Canadian boundary about the middle of August. And the term of service for a harvest hand in any one locality is very short, not longer than two or three weeks, after which he must seek new fields or obtain other employment.

Then, too, the men are forced to work long hours under most trying conditions, and the excessive heat of Oklahoma and Kansas causes a heavy labor turnover. To all this we must add as disturbing factors the uncertainties of the demand due to the perishable nature of the crops and the early or delayed ripening of the wheat. In fact, a period of hot weather may change the situation completely. In 1919, for example, workers were required in Oklahoma, Kansas, and southern Nebraska at the same time.

In short, conditions recur annually in the Central Wheat Belt which demand the best efforts of organized agencies in the recruiting and distributing of workers. Indeed, so varied and complex is the picture and so filled with human interest that it can be only

[1] Other grain-raising states in the central area and for the most part with lesser labor needs are Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, and Wyoming.



MAIN TRAVEL ROUTES OF HARVEST LABOR TO AND THROUGH THE HARVEST FIELDS OF THE MIDDLE WEST

Prepared from a map made by D. D. Lescohier illustrating routes found in a field survey of harvest labor conditions in the spring wheat and winter wheat areas in 1920 and 1921. This survey was conducted under the auspices of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the results are described in its Bulletin No. 1020 and in special magazine articles by Mr. Lescohier. (See *The Survey* for July and August, 1923, and *American Review* for November, 1923.)

briefly hinted at in the space at our command. We give two instances which show something of the complications which may arise under a shortage as well as under a surplus of labor. In 1919, when labor was scarce in parts of the wheat belt, harvest hands gathered in such numbers in Oklahoma that farmers repudiated the advertised wage. Consequently many drifted away and unexpectedly found employment in Kansas because of the early ripening harvest. The Oklahoma farmers thereupon invaded the neighboring state and bid up wages to the detriment of farming interests in both states.

In the other case, general labor conditions were reversed, but with results that were hardly more encouraging. In the 1914 season when large numbers of unemployed were attracted to the grain belt, we are informed by a representative of the Industrial Relations Commission that at Aberdeen, South Dakota, he saw "a large room packed full of men begging for work with no questions as to wages." And further, "a long column of 150 or 200 men being marched around the city by the police in order to prevent them from adding by their presence to the apprehensiveness of an already overstrung community."[1] This situation was partly a result of irresponsible advertising, and it was not surprising that men herded together under such unfavorable conditions in districts where there was no actual shortage became fertile soil for propaganda of extremist types.

Organized Placement Work in the Central Wheat Belt

Although general harvest labor conditions may be painted in dark colors, the fact should not be overlooked that public authorities for some years have been alive to the situation. Some of their attention to it is a result of demands of the farmers themselves for relief—an attitude which has been generally lacking among employers in industrial centers as far as government assistance in the securing of labor is concerned.

Early attempts to better conditions date back to 1903 when the Kansas public bureau crossed state lines and called upon public offices and other agencies in the Middle West and even on the Atlantic seaboard for assistance. Later, in 1904, as pointed out in a

[1] Report of William M. Duffus. Mimeographed.

previous chapter, the Western Association of State Free Employment Bureaus was formed by the Commissioners of Labor in seven states in a further attempt to meet harvest needs in the grain belt.[1] This is the first recorded attempt at even a loose federation of efforts which crossed state lines. Kansas City, Missouri, the natural gateway of the central grain-raising states, was selected as the headquarters of the association and the main distributing point for harvest workers.

Ten years later, in 1914, a similar organization was formed known as the National Farm Labor Exchange. Meeting with the labor officials of the several states were also representatives of the federal Departments of Agriculture and Labor and of representatives of civic organizations.[2] This second body, after a number of annual meetings, did not meet in 1919 but came together in 1920 as a result of the break-up of the federal Employment Service, and among the representatives was a member of a farmers' national organization.

As events subsequent to 1914 showed, this association made up mainly of state and federal officials proved a distinct step in advance over previous attempts at co-operation, due both to the increased activities of state agencies and of the Division of Information under the federal Department of Labor. Through the latter a wholesale means of recruiting harvest hands was made use of in the distribution of posters for display in post offices throughout the country. The advisibility of employing posters in this way, however, has been questioned, for experience has shown that more desirable workers may be found in comparatively restricted areas adjoining the wheat belt and in the smaller localities, rather than in the larger industrial centers.

Yet such purely voluntary effort on the part of state and federal authorities was clearly insufficient to meet harvest needs, and the subsequent wartime federal service demonstrated the effectiveness

[1] Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota, South Dakota, Oklahoma. United States Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 68, Washington, 1907, pp. 52–53.

[2] Organized by the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma. During the season of 1915, 16,659 harvest hands were directed to employment in Oklahoma, 27,895 in Kansas, and a smaller number in Nebraska and South Dakota. Unemployment Survey of 1914–15, *American Labor Legislation Review*, Vol. V, p. 552, November, 1915. See also Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 192, Washington, 1916, pp. 117–118.

of still further centralized leadership and control. The machinery developed by the latter consisted in part of a special staff of six agents with headquarters at Kansas City under direction of a chief official directly responsible to the Director General at Washington. In addition to the chain of offices located in the grain states, temporary offices were also established at important points. Other aid was secured, as that of farmers' organizations and county farm bureau agents, the latter in many instances holding strategic positions. For not only were the county agents able to keep farmers informed of the work of the public offices, but their influence was also potentially great though not always exercised in holding the farmers to wage agreements made in advance of actual needs.[1]

In general, according to first-hand observers, county agricultural agents and state agricultural officials consider it their first duty to safeguard the farmers' interests, and this has made it necessary for the federal Service and state departments of labor to adopt certain measures aimed to restore the balance by favoring the workers. As in former campaigns, in the 1919 season recruiting posters were sent out from the Kansas City headquarters to 39 states. Supplementing these posters were statements issued periodically from headquarters and in mimeographed form giving detailed information as to crop acreage, wage rates, numbers of workers required, opening dates of the harvest, and location of public offices and county farm bureau agents. Copies were sent to state directors of the federal Service and to many individual workers who made inquiries by mail. Fifteen thousand letters were answered by the United States Employment Service at the Kansas City, Missouri, office in the season of 1919, and 46,000 workers were placed in six states.[2] General news bulletins were also issued from Washington upon advice of the Kansas City headquarters.

An interesting indication of the actual working out of this plan

[1] To illustrate the valuable service rendered by county farm bureau agents in Kansas during the season of 1919, the following may be quoted, "Ten out of twelve non-farm bureau counties" which have reported losses "have indicated a loss of 90,697 acres of wheat because of lack of harvest labor," while only six out of 17 farm bureau counties reporting "have indicated a loss of 12,071 acres."—From private manuscript of G. E. Piper, Kansas State Agricultural College.

[2] United States Employment Service, Director General's Report, Washington, 1919, pp. 46, 49.

in the 1919 season from the point of view of the individual worker is seen in a recent report:

Arriving at a distributing office such as Hutchinson, Kansas; Lincoln, Nebraska; or Fargo, North Dakota; the would-be worker finds the employment service agent having a conversation by telephone with a county agricultural agent or community representative, who informs him of the exact labor demands of his locality from day to day. A group of laborers is then directed to report by name to one of these agents. They receive a simple card of introduction stating the wages which it is understood they are to receive. A list of those referred to him is mailed to the agent daily, and he is asked to report placements. The worker then goes to the county seat or other community center, reports to the agent and is by him put into touch with individual farmers, with whom the final labor agreement is supposed to be individually made.

Meanwhile a good many things may happen which are outside of this system and its regular operations. All manner of local forces step in to divert labor in transit. An agent will start with 100 men and deliver 10. When a train halts at a country station a farmer may suddenly appear shouting, "Get right off here, boys, and we'll give you $1.00 an hour." Fifty men may desert in the darkness. . . . The states and counties steal from one another and the whole process shows lack of team-play at a good many points.

But in spite of this and of the fact already indicated, that a majority of harvest workers never actually go through the employment service office, this service did constitute a genuinely directive force of the highest importance. Its information was generally diffused by the press and rumor, and was absolutely essential to correct a general tendency to exaggerate the numbers needed and the many deceptions practiced upon the worker. General publicity as to labor shortage is not sufficient of itself to direct the migratory movement. Repeatedly a community will be crying for labor when there is a surplus in the next county. Accuracy has by no means been reached, but in all probability at least 50 per cent of the uncertainty and misinformation of the harvest situation was removed by the national employment service.[1]

[1] From Migratory Labor in the Wheat Harvest, by H. Paul Douglass, investigator for the Interchurch World Movement. Mimeographed report. The writers of this volume are also indebted to Mr. Douglass' report for other information on harvest labor conditions.

Placement Methods in a Single State

Further suggestions are to be found in the methods used in a single state;[1] and the need of special ability and initiative on the part of local public office representatives in carrying on short intensive campaigns and in supplementing the work of the general staff is there also emphasized.

In Oklahoma during one season a preliminary canvass of farmers' orders was undertaken by state bureau officials two weeks before the season opened. Lists of farmers' names with their probable needs were first checked off with the aid of county clerks or other local residents. The telephone was then used to reach central stations in rural communities, in each instance covering a radius of about 25 miles. A general alarm was sent in over the telephone, the employment agent taking orders on the spot or notifying those who responded to refer their orders to the local office representative who had been appointed temporarily. Later on the total of orders received could be compared with acreage figures for a given district.

Since speed is all important during the harvest season, the newspapers were found to be one of the best mediums for recruiting and directing workers. Published items prepared by the employment agents included even such specific details as numbers of workers wanted and rates of pay—a dangerous method of direct recruiting but apparently justifiable for want of more efficient machinery. By so timing these articles as to show the demands for workers in different sections of the state, and by thus drawing on the supply of workers in closely adjoining states the evil effects of uncontrolled advertising could be in a measure obviated and the men prevented from congregating at a few points.

Another measure taken was as far as possible to fill farmers' demands at intermediate stations before sending workers to the more remote sections—this to prevent the stealing of labor en route. Special agents were also assigned temporarily at junction points to aid in distributing harvest hands and to keep the office informed by telephone and telegraph of the large numbers of workers who were

[1] Ashton, W. G.: "Plan for Gathering and Distributing Harvest Hands in the Grain States," pp. 84–98. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 192, Washington, 1916.

Date.....

Dear Sir:

In response to your request the persons named on the other end of this card are today being referred to you for employment. The following arrangements were made:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

After reasonable time for their arrival please write on the other end of this card whether you have hired them and mail it to us.

..... *Superintendent*

.....Employment Office at.....

Telephone.....

Date sent.....

Names of persons sent	Occupation
1.	.....
2.	.....
3.	.....
4.	.....
5.	.....

Employer's Remarks:

Name of employer.....

NOTICE TO EMPLOYER THAT APPLICANTS ARE BEING REFERRED TO HIM

The part of the form on the right of the perforated line is a postal card with the address of the employment office on its reverse side. It is mailed to the employer in an envelope. This form is especially useful in the placement of farm-hands and other laborers where telephone communication with employers is difficult.

drifting about and obtaining employment without any special direction. In a number of details this plan was similar to that put into effect in Ohio under very different conditions. Direction of publicity from a central point was found necessary, and this tended to offset the effect of misleading general estimates of the labor demand. The same need was emphasized for basing information used in publicity upon orders for workers taken by responsible representatives beginning early in the season, as well as upon crop estimates made on the ground. Since many of the workers in the wheat belt must be handled in groups, however, individual selection of applicants is largely limited to skilled workers, as, for instance, traction engine operators.

Present Status of Harvest Labor Problem

In summing up what has been accomplished thus far in the orderly distribution of harvest labor, we must recognize that the success obtained under wartime conditions has been seriously endangered by the crippling of the federal Service. Yet organized efforts must continue if farmers are to obtain workers in times of labor shortage, and if jobless workers in seasons of unemployment are not to continue to be unemployed by their unguided flocking together at central points. Indeed, as already indicated, we have here probably the most striking example in the entire field of employment of the need for federal supervision and control. And it is clear that neither a "paper" organization at Washington nor the purely voluntary co-operation of state agencies in the field will suffice in distributing workers among the competing states and in the interest of the nation as a whole.

Another measure which deserves full consideration is the providing of reduced transportation rates for harvest hands directed to jobs through public employment offices. At present "hitting the brake beams" or stealing rides on freight trains is commonly practised, although railroads themselves to some extent have followed the custom of sending out gangs of men to the harvest fields fare free from such points as Chicago. The men go ostensibly for construction work, but it is known that they will "jump the job" and obtain work as harvest hands. Kansas papers, it is reported, "comment caustically on the fact that a man can ride through Kansas to

a loafing vacation in Colorado at a reduced rate, but not to Kansas for a working vacation."

Yet nothing has been accomplished to rectify the haphazard methods of traveling to the harvest fields outside of occasional concessions granted by railroads, and this in spite of continued agitation of the subject by the Department of Labor.[1] Both in England and Canada, however, persons referred to work by the employment service obtain reduced rates on the railroads; and in England fares are advanced.[2]

The experience of Canada also offers other suggestions on our harvest labor problem. The district superintendent in the Canadian Wheat Belt reports that only about a third of the harvest hands pass through the public employment offices, but that by a working agreement with the railroads the supply of harvest hands is regulated to the needs of his district. This is made possible by keeping track of the number of prospective hands who enter the district as excursionists on the railroads, and notifying the railroad authorities when the excursion rates should be suspended. In this plan, labor needs are estimated on the basis of crop reports for the prevailing and previous seasons—an important factor which should receive greater attention in our Central Wheat Belt.

Relation Between Departments of Labor and Agriculture

Finally, the necessity is evident for laying down a clearly defined policy between the departments of labor and agriculture, both state and federal, in the placement of farm labor.

While the field of operation up to the establishment of the wartime federal Service has been so large that the few duplications of farm placement offices might almost pass unnoticed, such overlapping of effort should be avoided in the future. The most notable instance of the establishment of a farm placement bureau by a

[1] A bill was introduced in the United States Senate in 1916 providing special rates on interstate transportation for persons directed to employment by the Department of Labor. Annual Report of Secretary of Labor, 1916, p. 61. See also, United States Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 68, January, 1907, p. 30, for reference to special harvest hand rates granted by railroads operating in Kansas. In California reduced railroad rates were secured for cotton pickers in the Imperial Valley during one season. Seventeenth Biennial Report of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics, Sacramento, 1915–16, p. 73.

[2] See further discussion of Canada's provision for transportation on page 173.

state department of agriculture is that of the New York City bureau operated from 1905 until 1916, for the special purpose of drawing upon the immigrant labor supply at the port of New York. In recent years also the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture has operated a seasonal agency in connection with the Chicago public offices for the purpose of bringing farm settlers into the state.

With the gradual extension in the larger industrial centers of public employment offices under the departments of labor, there should be no occasion for the setting up of specialized farm bureau offices in the same localities by other public authorities. It is now recognized that, with the farmers depending upon industrial centers as recruiting places at certain seasons of the year, it is bad policy to operate a special farm office apart from the general employment bureau in such centers. To quote one authority, agricultural interests by this arrangement will "lose out every time."

Moreover, the ability of public bureaus under the departments of labor to act as rallying points for other agencies in the handling of labor has been well proved by wartime experience. And it is just here that the state and federal departments of agriculture can lend most valuable assistance in supplementing the work of public employment offices by finding out the farmers' labor needs and aiding in the distribution of workers. In fact, the close contact with farmers of the departments' agents through surveys of crop conditions and their general knowledge, which is of value especially to prospective settlers and farm tenants, make such supplementary aid most necessary.

In one state during the war the close co-operation between the two departments has already been noted. In Ohio the positions of supervising farm help specialists were consolidated, the representative of the federal Department of Agriculture acting in this capacity in the central office of the federal Employment Service. The working out of more of such close relations is desirable.

CHAPTER XXX

MIGRATORY AND CASUAL WORKERS

AGAIN, in the public employment office migratory workers, other than farm labor already discussed, and casual workers must be regarded as another special group requiring service adapted to their particular needs. In direct contrast with many of the skilled workers, with juniors and with certain types of handicapped workers who must be definitely recruited, out-of-town workers or migrants and men employed at odd jobs flock to the public office as a ready means of obtaining information on openings.

Probably two-thirds of the applicants at the public offices who may be termed in general unskilled are included in this classification. And of necessity provision must be made in the centralized office for serving them apart from other workers. It is both because members of this group have bulked large in the work of public bureaus, and also because they stand in need of such service, that their case requires separate discussion.

First of all, migratory and casual workers have certain characteristics in common. For the most part they are unskilled, and to shift from one type of work to another is comparatively easy for them. Their most striking similarity, perhaps, is their constant movement from job to job and their search for new openings. With the migrant the length of each engagement may be measured in terms of a few weeks, or at most months; and the jobs taken may require them to travel over wide areas from one comparatively isolated locality to another. With casuals, changes in employment are made usually within the limits of a single industrial center although the places of employment in it may be widely scattered; and the length of service is a matter of a few hours or a few days. It is because of such frequent shifts in employment beyond the borders of fairly well defined districts where other job seekers are met, that members of the entire group are particularly dependent on centers giving attention to information on jobs. But informal means, such

as word-of-mouth information, prove quite insufficient, and as a result these workers are forced to secure employment assistance through organized aid. Hence their constant attendance on public employment offices as well as on other organized agencies.

As for the public employment offices, they have found that migrant and casual labor calls urgently for service, so much so that a frequent criticism is that they cater especially to these applicants. These criticisms have come especially from employers in large industrial centers. A recent chamber of commerce report in one city, for example, says of the local office: "Bureau of little value to stabilized industry." "Bureau applicants are bums, have to be paid daily"; and the report mentions the "public square loafers" that the office serves. Such critics seem to forget, however, that the employment bureau is not the cause of men's migrating for employment or of their working casually. The cause is partly a responsibility of employers who maintain conditions which call for large numbers of casual workers. There are other reasons also, including the exigencies of the industry or the particular work to be done. But whatever the cause, the public bureaus have recognized this group as one which it could and should aid.

And with the workers themselves lacking in effective organization for their own interests the whole question becomes admittedly complex. Up to the present not much has been accomplished toward reducing the evils connected with their scattered and intermittent employment. The problem must be faced, however, and such measures as experience suggests to relieve the pressure on the public employment offices and incidentally on other public agencies, should be noted.[1]

I. MIGRATORY WORKERS

There are no exact figures, but it has been estimated that the number of migratory workers in this country ranges from two to three million, and they are said to be increasing.[2] Forming an im-

[1] See also, Casual Laborer, by Carleton H. Parker. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. One Thousand Homeless Men, by A. W. Solenberger. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1911. The Longshoremen, by Charles F. Barnes. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1915.

[2] United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Washington, 1916, Vol. I, p. 101.

portant reserve of labor so essential in the present organization of industry, they are to be found in the woods of Wisconsin and Maine, in railroad and construction work throughout the country, in the harvest fields of the central West and in other seasonal agricultural work, in the labor camps on the Pacific coast, in ice cutting, and the like. Gathering at important transportation centers like Chicago, New York, and St. Louis, they are shipped out in gangs through various agencies. And after a more or less brief period at one place they either drift about the country or return to their starting points to again seek similar employment. A large proportion are homeless, single men, and dissatisfied with the circumstances under which they live.

Inevitably under such conditions migrants have fallen a prey to certain types of fee-charging offices. Large numbers have suffered at the hands of so-called labor agencies which make a specialty of this type of worker, agencies whose operations have been the frequent subject of government inquiry, and which have been charged among other things with the collecting of excessive fees, referring workers to jobs which do not exist on the chance that they may be unable to return to their starting point and obtain redress, and the splitting of applicants' fees between the labor agency and company foreman in charge of a particular job.[1] This last-named practice has been carried on extensively and constitutes a fraudulent endless chain movement known to the men as the "three gang" system—one gang discharged and leaving the job, another at work and about to be discharged, and a third newly recruited and on the way to the job.[2]

Instead, therefore, of helping to regulate the movement of workers according to the requirements of industry, these agencies serve to increase the high rate of turnover especially characteristic of

[1] See fuller reference to abuses in Introduction, page 4.

[2] The following recent incident vouched for by a state inspector of fee-charging agencies is illustrative: A group of immigrants had arranged with a private agency to go to another city as barn helpers, but as there was at the time a shortage of men for the woods they were sent by the agency to a lumber camp in another state and without being informed of their real destination. On arrival at the camp they refused to work. Since the lumber company had advanced money for their transportation they were arrested, put in jail, and each fined $5.00. In this case, however, the private agency was forced to make restitution as the workers happened to be able to return to their starting point and lay their case before the local authorities.

Photos by McCurry, Sacramento

FEE-CHARGING LABOR AGENCIES IN SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

The pictures illustrate forms of blackboard advertising used by some of the fee-charging agencies in 1919. The writing on the blackboards was in various colors—red, yellow, and brilliant blue.

migratory work. Exploitation, too, is at its worst during periods of industrial depression, for the size of the fee demanded may vary directly with the individual's need—a larger fee being required when times are hard and fewer workers are called for.

Railroad and Construction Laborers

Railroad and construction gang workers which make up a considerable proportion of the unemployed in the largest cities during the winter months are particularly subject to the control of labor agencies. Their numbers are so great that some labor agencies make a specialty of handling railroad workers to the exclusion of other applicants. In some instances offices are operated directly by railroad companies, and this arrangement simplifies the situation to some extent. Another feature is the management of the camp commissary by the same private agency which sends workers to the job. Many abuses have resulted from this system, such as neglect of proper sanitary conditions in the camps, the furnishing of poor food, and overcharging the men for camp necessities. And these are difficult to remedy since in such cases the railroad companies or employing contractors may disclaim any responsibility. It is upon foreign rather than upon native-born workers that these abuses have fallen most heavily; yet because of their unfamiliarity with the language and customs foreign-born workers who are said to make up three-fourths of the railroad and construction laborers are the ones who are obliged to keep coming to the agencies and hiring themselves out under leadership of the padrone, or of "interpreters."

The interpreter handles the details of shipment of a particular gang, and may also accompany workers to the job and as "straw boss"remain in virtual control over them.[1] The foreign born are willing to do railroad work. They can obtain a better wage return than on the farms, and by the aid of the interpreter overcome to

[1] For descriptions of labor camp conditions see "Preliminary Survey of Labor Camps in Ohio," Ohio Industrial Commission *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 11, November 27, 1917. Also "Labor Camps in Wisconsin," Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Report by W. M. Leiserson covering investigations made in 1912–13.

See also Reports of United States Immigration Commission, The Floating Immigrant Labor Supply, Vol. XVIII, Part 22; of the New York State Bureau of Industries and Immigration; and of California Commission of Immigration and Housing, Sacramento, 1914.

some extent their helplessness in strange surroundings. Many among the more recent arrivals accept pick and shovel work for the first few years and, later, go into a shop or factory.

Yet the labor agencies cannot be said to be the only offenders in the treatment of migratory workers. They have also suffered from false newspaper advertisements spread broadcast, it may be by careless or unscrupulous employers, announcing shortages of workers where no such shortages exist. Then added to both, the migrant worker in time of industrial depression is forced to live in cheap lodging houses. All these factors in turn, intermittent employment, poor living conditions both when employed and unemployed, exploitation by labor agencies, have been potent in reducing such migrant workers to the ranks of the lowest casual class and not infrequently to the life of the professional mendicant.

General Policies

For the remedying of these conditions various government policies have been adopted. In improving labor camp conditions the work of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing affords a good example of what can be accomplished in that direction. Something also has been accomplished in a number of states through the regulation of private agencies. However, if the present haphazard methods of state and local regulation are to be overcome it would seem that improvement must come through federal control of the fee-charging agencies doing an interstate business. Under existing conditions no other resource promises sufficient protection for the exploited worker who finds himself stranded at his destination and unable to return to his point of departure in order to make complaint before the local authorities.

Hand in hand with the restriction and control of private agencies should come also a constructive policy of extending the public employment service. And incidentally, one strong argument in favor of a co-ordinated federal-state-local service, such as that recommended in this report, as against individual state systems is the greater protection that would be thus afforded migratory workers and the better distribution of labor in the interests of industry as a whole. Instances in point are the transfer of workers to construction camps that took place during the war and the recruiting and

distributing of harvest hands in the Central Wheat Belt already alluded to.

Reduced railroad rates for migrant workers sent out by the public offices would prove an added assistance. This applies especially to harvest hands in the central states, but has general application also. Then if we wish to look still farther into the future we may some day see public bureau representatives referring gangs of workers about to be discharged to new employment by giving them the necessary information "on the job," before they have actually disbanded. This procedure would save both the time and effort of workers and would be of service to industry. In fact during the war it was followed by some public offices in handling factory help. Another possibility is the future establishment of a chain of specialized offices in important centers for railroad laborers.

Public Employment Office Procedure

The record of public employment offices with reference to the migrant has been one of definite but entirely too limited accomplishment. In some important transportation centers private fee-charging labor agencies have felt the competition of these offices and have been forced out of business. This is true especially in cities of the middle and far West. Reduction of these agencies has considerably lessened the constant shifting about of migratory workers, because for one thing it lessened the amount of false information given about jobs. The public has also been protected against what at times may be a serious local problem—the herding together of unemployed men.

Much still remains to be done. The difficulties in the way of securing the co-operation of large employers and of organizing placement work to meet the special needs of this group are by no means small. Even under the federal Employment Service and with the single unit administration of the railroads during the war the old methods of hiring railroad laborers were clung to. And not even the taking over of both the office quarters and the staffs of certain labor agencies and of railroad employment departments by the federal Employment Service apparently changed the situation. For railroad executives were still opposed to turning over what they considered a monopoly of the business to the federal

Employment Bureau, and it is significant that by the terms of the President's wartime proclamation declaring that unskilled labor should be recruited through the federal Service, the hiring of this class of workers was especially exempted. One development that will go a great way in solving this difficulty will be improvement in the quality of the service offered by the public bureaus.

Generally in the public office the chief patronage among migrants has come from the native-born worker or "hobo"—this term being used to distinguish the person who works here and there from the vagrant who shuns all work and from the criminal type of wanderer. There remains, however, a large number of foreign born, especially among railroad and construction laborers, who use the public bureaus only to a very limited extent. This is the group to which the bureaus need to give attention, and to reach them a more specialized service seems clearly necessary.

In the first place, only a very few offices include on their staffs interpreters who can deal with non-English speaking applicants, and the establishment of branch offices in foreign quarters of the largest cities has not been attempted on any permanent basis. Both of these are needed. In some of the largest cities offices mainly for migratory and general laborers have also been established with good results especially in recruiting workers near railroad terminals or in lodging-house districts. In some instances agents of the federal wartime service were regularly stationed at railroad terminals to direct shipments of workers and to aid in recruiting. In the public office provision should be made for interviewing applicants by themselves and for waiting-room accommodations between shipment periods. Occasionally the reception given migrants by interviewers in the public office is not any too friendly. Too often in reply to the question "any shipments today," the stock phrase of the professional hobo worker, he is met with a surly look and a short answer. This is especially likely to be the case in dull seasons. At such times these men are driven from country districts by local authorities, and they flock to the transportation centers, there frequenting the public offices. Where such treatment is given to laborers of this type it shows an entire lack of appreciation of the real service these men render industry.

Provision should be made, moreover, so that office representa-

tives can accompany the men to the railroad station and arrange for their transportation. The latter service is sometimes neglected possibly because of insufficient staff, but it is important if the public office is to meet the labor agencies on equal terms. In providing transportation for woodsmen, numbers of whom may be classed as skilled workers and who generally must take some baggage, special arrangements should be made for forwarding their baggage checks to prospective employers to insure that the person sent reports for work. Railroad fares are frequently advanced by employers and a "labor scout" may be temporarily assigned to accompany the men to the job. In shipments to the woods it has been found advisable to record wages to be paid on the introduction cards, as a measure of protection to those referred.

II. CASUAL WORKERS

Although they are closely allied to the migrant type, casual workers have certain distinctive characteristics. The term casual work as applied to unskilled labor implies both shortness of service and acceptance of the first comers seeking work.[1] In other words, the shorter the service and the less preference shown in selection of workers the more casual the job. Many seasonal workers are required to do work of a casual nature such as is outlined in connection with migrants, but the discussion here has to do more with persons who may be termed true casuals and are for the most part unskilled. In this group are longshoremen, odd job and handy men, certain types of building laborers, and women day's workers, commonly employed for a few hours at a time or a few days only and with a constant shifting about from one employer to another.

Considerable has been written on the evils of odd job and intermittent work—that last refuge of the incompetent and almost unemployable and of the physically disabled—of the degrading effect, both physically and morally, on the workers of short time and underemployment, and of the difficulty of their struggle to return to the ranks of those regularly employed. Especially in times of

[1] Beveridge, W. H.: Unemployment: A Problem of Industry, p. 98.
According to the British and Canadian systems of recording public employment office statistics, any work lasting seven days or less is casual.

industrial depression, and particularly when this includes the winter months, do we find the casual laborer to be the one who feels the first evil effects of the industrial slump. His loss of work often means the facing of actual want. For at such times he may be pushed to one side by the more vigorous worker who himself is forced down temporarily into the casual class from a more regular occupation.

Efforts to Decasualize Labor

In this country very little attention has been paid to the improvement of conditions affecting casual labor. Such lack of definite policy, however, is most unfortunate both in the treatment of the workers by industry itself or through public employment offices. For some years a procedure known as decasualizing has been advocated by the well-known English authority, Sir William H. Beveridge, and has been accepted by leading economists. Some years ago this author made a study of working conditions at the port of London. A brief statement of his findings and of their practical application will serve to throw light on this much neglected field.

He found that the longshoreman's work, varying in length from a few hours to a few days, necessitated the latter's constant attendance upon prospective employers at widely different points within a given area. Moreover, more or less deliberate attempts may be made by employers to keep in attendance individual workers for employment in an emergency. As a result a reserve of labor is created which is unnecessarily great when one considers the demand for such labor at any one time. By pooling the supply of labor at one or more centers within a given area, however, the number of workers may be reduced and at the same time the demand for labor may be satisfied. In other words, the man formerly unable to obtain work six days in the week and consequently suffering from irregular earnings due to such underemployment, may become under the proposed arrangement a full-time worker; and a certain percentage of former part-time workers may be forced to seek other employment.

Beveridge's classic illustration of how this works out is, in abbreviated form, as follows: "Let us suppose that there are 10 centers of casual employment at 10 different docks in a certain dis-

trict. Each requires a regular staff of 50 and a reserve supply of 50 more; or the 10 docks require a total of 1,000 men. Suppose too that the number of regular and reserve men actually employed in the district ranges from 700 to 800 from day to day. If each dock represents a distinct labour market, so that no man works at more than one, then the whole 1,000 men will be required. If, however, the 10 docks represent a single market with labour fluid and distributed according to actual needs, the number required will amount to only 800 on any one day. If it is desired to do the work with the smallest possible reserve of labour, some means must be adopted for directing the right number of specified individuals to each wharf from some one center or exchange."[1]

In theory at least the advantage of central pooling and distribution of labor is thus shown. As for individuals who are thrown out of employment as a result of this process of decasualizing, the importance is emphasized of assisting them in securing work in other localities through the public employment offices; or, if proved to be practically unemployable, of caring for them as a community problem. As noted by its advocates the plan should not be carried out during a time of industrial depression, because of the difficulty of providing for those "squeezed out."

In actual practice no striking result in actual reduction in the number of employed or partially employed men has been recorded in England. Attempts at decasualizing have been made with cloth porters in Manchester, and in Liverpool with cotton porters.[2] And during the war, dock employment was regulated generally in England through systems of registration set up by port labor committees consisting of employers and union representatives. Subsequent to the armistice, registration of workers has continued, the chief purpose being to protect the ports against an influx of casual labor.[3]

Probably the most notable example of the actual pooling of casual labor has been the Liverpool docks scheme, undertaken in 1912.

[1] Beveridge, W. H.: Unemployment: A Problem of Industry, pp. 77–78.

[2] Lasker, Bruno: The British System of Labor Exchanges. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 206, Washington, 1916, p. 34.

[3] "Waterside Workers in the United Kingdom," by B. M. Squires. In *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. VIII, No. 6, June, 1919, pp. 18–37.

This was first instituted under a joint committee made up of public labor exchange officials and union and employers' representatives. A system of clearing houses was established through which workers were registered and each given a metal disc or tally bearing a distinctive number and a letter showing the clearing house area to which he was attached. An important feature of the scheme and one which went far to make its acceptance general among employers was that, in connection with the weekly payment of wages to dock workers at each clearing house either by the clearing house staff or by individual firms, the contributions of workers and employers were made at the same time under the National Insurance Act, which provides compensation for workers in case of sickness or accident. The weekly payment of wages was of value not only to the employers but also to the workers, as it relieved them of the necessity of calling on a number of different firms to collect their pay.

Among the difficulties encountered in establishing the scheme was the opposition of the workers themselves, although made against their leaders' counsel. Under the conditions which prevailed before the plan was put into operation it was estimated that work was being distributed among some 30,000 dock laborers, which was actually sufficient to maintain but two-thirds of this number at steady employment.[1] More recent reports indicate that two sets of tallies are issued to the men—permanent and seasonal ones—and dock workers are distributed in part through what are known as "surplus stands." According to the statement of an assistant secretary to the Ministry of Labour but little placement is done through the Labour Exchange machinery, "the main point of the scheme [being] to pay wages once a week."[2] One of the latest developments in the restriction of dock labor supply at Liverpool is the imposition of a heavy entrance fee (£5) upon new members by the dock workers' union.[3]

Thus, at least, some measure of relief from intolerable working

[1] Williams, R.: First Year's Working of the Liverpool Docks Scheme. London, P. S. King and Son, 1914, p. 13.

[2] Ministry of Labour. Report of the Enquiry into the Work of Employment Exchanges, London, Government, 1921, pp. 16–17 and 22. See also pp. 205–208.

[3] *The Survey*, Vol. XLIII, p. 385, January 10, 1920.

conditions at the docks has been secured in England through the registration of dock laborers and the limitation by the means described of the number of newcomers in this particular occupation. In the United States no comparable step has been taken at the different ports, nor have other methods for the improvement of conditions been set up. And however much public employment bureaus have been able to render assistance in the past, little has been done to follow any definite plan outside of ordinary methods of registration and placement. It is very desirable that our public offices generally should benefit by the experience of England, which has meant in part the instituting of office practice designed to meet the special needs of this group. Two other groups of casual workers who apply in large numbers, the odd jobs and handy man and the woman day's worker, should have something done for them at once.

Workers at Odd Jobs

Workers at odd jobs are commonly found in such temporary employment as unloading cars, handling packing cases that require heavy manual labor, cleaning stores and factories, snow shoveling, carpet beating, and the so-called handy man's work. As in the case of the woman day's worker, the odd jobs and handy man is seriously handicapped in that work-places may be widely scattered, obliging him to shift about constantly from one employer to another, and his jobs are unlikely to dovetail in time. Private employment offices and want advertisements in the daily papers are of but small assistance. He is usually forced, therefore, to make use of a central bureau of information such as the public employment office affords.

While there may be ground for criticizing casual workers in individual cases for their preference for temporary rather than steady employment because of a possibly higher hourly rate of pay and the opportunity for "days off," it should be remembered that some of the responsibility rests also upon employers who demand such work. Rather than to attempt to pass judgment upon the motives of either, the immediate constructive step is for the public bureaus to reduce the number of this group as far as possible by providing continuous work for as many as can be employed. That is, instead of giving something to all, the bureaus should concentrate their jobs on the group that can be kept continuously employed. Irreg-

ular employment for the larger number may thus be avoided, and those who are thrown out entirely will need to be provided for in some other way. As a matter of fact, such concentration occurs to a considerable degree in any office which uses careful methods of registration and placement. Yet the process should be quickened by purposeful effort to that end. Such a policy, however, needs to be used with caution and with careful consideration of all factors in changing situations and industrial periods. In one office the practice has been to confine such work as far as possible to old men and applicants otherwise handicapped.

There is danger in carrying this policy of concentration too far, and much depends on the experience and personality of the individual interviewer. As one odd jobs man said in criticism of an office where the plan was being tried, "They've got their own little bunch there; I can't get a look-in." The office must be ready to stand the charge of favoritism and in times of general business depression when what work of all kinds there is must be made to go as far as possible, such a policy cannot well be enforced at all.[1]

The special facilities in the public office for placing casuals should include, in the largest cities, a separate interviewing and waiting room for the unskilled including common laborers of both migratory and purely casual type, or a separate office in a district frequented by such workers. The office should be open early as there is advantage in referring workers to jobs at an early hour; more jobs are thus filled and quicker service is given to the employer. In Milwaukee the special office for railroad and casual laborers and woodsmen located in the lodging house district is open from six o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon. Interviews with casual laborers should not be too brief. Care should be observed in the adaptability of applicants for light or heavy manual work or for jobs requiring a certain degree of skill. Selection should be based not on judgment as to general character but on work ability as shown by the office records. Here is a place also where verification of individual placements is necessary and records of reports from employers are useful. They will assist in concentrating upon a special group. Workers inefficient in some lines can be sent where

[1] See also Klein, Philip: The Burden of Unemployment. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1923.

their capabilities can be exercised and the unemployable be weeded out. This latter should be done in spite of unintelligent newspaper criticism or of pressure from agencies which may without proper discrimination refer applicants for assistance. For it must be recognized that dealing with unemployables is a community rather than an employment office problem, and that proper provision for the aged, disabled, and mentally defective will in a measure be simplified if the responsibility is placed where it belongs. By intelligent selection, too, the criticism sometimes justly made that the public office encourages applicants in irregular habits of work may be overcome. It may be possible also in certain instances to direct the applicant who is ignorant of other work opportunities into regular employment. This applies in part to foreign-born workers who have only a slight knowledge of English or for whom an interpreter may be found.

Women Who Work by the Day

Among women who work by the day are found in considerable number widows with dependent children; housewives who wish to increase the family income although their husbands may be employed; occasional recruits from among factory, store, or office employes and from regular domestic service; and middle-aged women who may be too old to obtain employment at a previous calling. Such workers are especially in need of organized assistance in obtaining jobs; occasionally one may find them reduced to stationing themselves at regular stands or markets on convenient street corners in order to meet prospective employers. Since their work opportunities are widely scattered, they are unable to follow well-beaten paths as do other workers or even other casuals whose chances for employment may be concentrated within definite areas. Then, too, employers make relatively little or no use of the "Help wanted" columns in the daily newspapers to advertise for this class of help; and the cost of the fee in a private agency makes its service practically prohibitive.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these women workers are especially in evidence among applicants at the public office, or that they apply in such number as to seriously tax office facilities. The latter occurs not infrequently, to the despair of women examiners; for not only do they drive away other applicants, but they also take

up a large amount of the interviewer's time which otherwise might be given to securing orders from employers of more skilled help, or to placing workers for longer engagements.

Nevertheless, proper facilities for handling day's workers should be provided. This may involve their separation from factory and store employes. At the Cleveland public office on the afternoon of the day before the applicant is to be sent out, introduction cards to prospective employers are prepared in advance according to the orders then on hand, and the orders classified by city districts so that workers may be referred more easily to employment near their homes. Next morning on the opening of the office at seven o'clock workers who have understood the desirability of calling early are sent out with practically no delay. By 9.30 a. m. the office is cleared for the placement of other applicants. Effort is also made to secure those individuals who have already had interviews with employers and are now called for by these latter; such persons may be so notified by special arrangement with police and fire stations near their homes. Further, applicants are also encouraged to engage future work with the same employers from week to week. In another city a sub-station for day's workers was maintained on a volunteer basis in a settlement house in order to render more service within the neighborhood and to save the expense of carfare to applicants.

The Cleveland office also attempted to concentrate on a selected number of tested workers in order to keep applicants as regularly supplied with employment as possible and to reduce the total number of workers required, in line with the policy of decasualizing already referred to in the placement of men. Obviously, however, the problem of women who work by the day differs from that of men workers, since some of the women who have household tasks of their own or families of young children are unable to go out to work each day in the week, even if employment is offered.[1]

In the public employment offices generally, however, the plan of

[1] It differs also in that these workers go into people's homes, making their health and personal habits matters of importance. This would argue for particular care in looking up references given by the women, and for concentrating on a selected and tested number as suggested by the Cleveland office's practice. It is understood, moreover, that much of what has been outlined in previous chapters, as to data regarding vacancies and the applicants, applies in the case of these women casuals; only special phases are noted here.

limiting applicants to a selected group has not been attempted to any extent. In one office at least an opposite policy has prevailed; that is, to refer to employment as large a number of women as possible regardless of the fact that many of these women do not obtain work with any regularity. In this practice new applicants are favored over the old ones, on the ground that after a person has been referred to employment a certain number of times she is then in a position to secure her own work, having been provided with regular customers.

Another means of reducing the number of day's workers, in addition to those already noted, has been to refer women to steady work in factory positions, possibly on the basis of a woman's previous trade experience. Others have been placed at regular work as cleaners in office buildings or at domestic work which allowed them to return home each night. Such aid in selection and placement has been found most valuable, especially with women who apply only for day's work because of their ignorance of openings in other lines. In several cities efforts have been made to introduce what is known as the household-assistant system, in part under the auspices of the federal Employment Service. Under this arrangement the worker is regularly employed for eight hours a day and returns to her home each night. Special training schools have also been advocated, especially in times of general unemployment, where day's workers may be taught cleaning and laundry work, thus increasing their earning power and opportunities for more regular employment.

In some offices fairly successful efforts have been made to standardize the wage and general work conditions of women day's workers by establishing a minimum rate of pay and the policy of a "fair day's work."

Further effort needs to be made to reduce the number of these women workers and to direct them into other occupations just as needs to be done with other casual workers. For one thing the dangers which attend upon underemployment and casual labor are thoroughly real, and there is evidence to show that many of the women suffer from the irregularity and uncertainty and accompanying evils.

CHAPTER XXXI

JUNIOR WORKERS

THE junior field includes young persons under twenty-one years of age. According to the 1920 census over five million young persons in the age group from ten to nineteen years are gainfully employed. And even the reservation that a considerable proportion of persons in this group are engaged in agricultural work still leaves a great number employed in the large industrial centers.

While in some cases the advice of parents and friends affords the best and most natural help in job getting, the increasing specialization of industry and the consequent inability of the child's guardians for the most part to give proper direction make organized effort increasingly necessary. It will be helpful, therefore, to recall some of the characteristics of junior employment work. These may be briefly summarized from the discussion presented in Part One of the present volume:

> Junior applicants for work show a general inability to obtain employment because of their inexperience in making useful contacts. They are at a disadvantage, also, largely because of inexperience in bargaining power. They know but little as a rule about the advantages, opportunities, and requirements of different occupations, and less of their own adaptability for one or another kind of work. It is essential, therefore, both from the point of view of the junior worker and of the community that assistance be supplied in the way of guidance, advice, and protection in obtaining and holding employment. Such assistance is required more often in securing satisfactory types of positions than in increased wages or shorter hours.

Scope of Junior Placement Work

In placement work among juniors certain important factors need to be taken into account not operative among adults. One of these is the compulsory school attendance law, and another is legislation concerning child labor. Thus the minimum age at which children may be employed in industry is generally fourteen, and in many

states children under sixteen are debarred from processes where there is unusual risk. These limitations need to be kept constantly in mind; and in addition, junior placement work needs to be coordinated or adjusted so as to function satisfactorily with industrial training and general education, such as continuation, trade, and high schools, and even the colleges.

Again, unlike the situation among adults, the school records of juniors giving the observations of teachers, attendance officers, visiting teachers, and school physicians, together with the records of the work certificates office, all may be made available and must be taken into account in an all-round program of junior placement. In fact too much emphasis can scarcely be laid on the importance of adjusting the activities of a junior employment service to the operation of the various administrative branches within the school system. Incidentally it may be noted that the office issuing certificates which allow young people to go out to work holds a key position in this regard. And with the more general introduction in the different states of continuation schools where children of working age attend part-time classes, these will also serve as focusing points in plans to organize placement. The strategic importance of the office issuing work certificates comes about through the fact that in most states the school authorities issue the certificates and that nearly all states require children to have such papers before going to work—in the majority of states up to the age of sixteen.

In many states, also, the applicant must be given a medical examination by a public medical officer or by a physician under authority of the Board of Education before he can obtain a work certificate, and in some states children are examined each time they change their positions. Then, too, the child may be obliged to return to the certificates office at the end of each job. Such legal requirements as these not only modify the placement work but facilitate it greatly when carried on in conjunction with a work certificate office. Under this arrangement placement offices are afforded a good opening to investigate a particular position, since the law requires or implies that there shall be a reasonable certitude that the prospective work for juveniles shall be within their strength and ability before the work certificate is issued and the child is given employment; this opportunity to investigate may also be taken advantage

of where an employer is refused a certificate for a child and seeks the services of the certificates office in obtaining another worker.

Moreover, along with the development of elaborate school administrative machinery in recent years has also come the movement for vocational education and guidance. This has a special bearing upon organized placement assistance, since the latter is coming to be more and more recognized as a necessary part of vocational guidance. In fact, interest in this phase of the matter has had no small share in bringing about specialized efforts at placement of children in co-operation with the school authorities.

Unfortunately, however, the field is still so new and the development of effective methods so experimental that the term "vocational guidance" itself is variously interpreted by its users. As one public employment bureau official has recently stated, "The subject to my mind is one of the haziest on the calendar. It is my belief that a good placement examiner is continually doing what may be called vocational guidance in all of his employment work." His conception of vocational guidance, it seems to us, is entirely too limited as it emphasizes merely individual direction of the applicant by providing information about positions and securing contacts; whereas vocational guidance must after studying each case take other possibilities into account than immediate employment; it must consider, also, the question of further educational and vocational training and methods of the applicant's advancement after work is secured. Indeed, there is danger here that the experienced placement worker will unduly magnify the importance of placement information which is "reliable, comprehensive, concrete, accurate, and up-to-the-minute" to the exclusion of other necessary features, just as contrariwise, some who advocate the keeping of the vocational guidance movement within the schools may become lost in a maze of "counseling" and overlook the necessity for providing organized employment assistance. Both are important and one should not be emphasized to the exclusion of the other.[1]

[1] Since the discussion in this chapter is aimed primarily to present to public employment office workers an outline of methods used in the *placement* of junior workers, the emphasis has been placed there and only limited attention given to the necessary task of providing occupational information and of giving advice to juniors while still in school regarding the choice of school courses. This particular phase of vocational guidance has been pretty fully covered by educational authorities, and, be it said, somewhat to the neglect of the placement feature.

Another factor requiring consideration is the very great shifting about from one job to another by children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. One reason for this is that in general, jobs they obtain in this age group hold out few prospects for advancement and afford but little industrial training. And since many employers are disinclined to engage children under sixteen because of restrictive laws, and because they have but limited ability as producers, the worth-while positions open to children of this age may be few.

A special burden is therefore thrown upon the employment workers to safeguard the interests of this particular age group, to develop methods of following-up applicants, and to assist them when change of employment seems wise. If this much is agreed upon it is, perhaps, unimportant here whether a particular job should be labeled a "blind alley" occupation, or whether, as some maintain, any work done under reasonable health safeguards offers a certain amount of worth-while experience, and the child who stays too long in an occupation and his advisers as well are themselves blind.

I. THREE TYPES OF WORK FOR JUNIORS

Junior placement work as carried on by public agencies in this country has been developed in a variety of ways. The main features of interest from the point of view of the present study of three more or less representative types will be discussed in what follows. In the order of treatment they are: a central bureau conducted by public school authorities, a school bureau co-operating with the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service, and special departments for juniors in the public employment offices. They have been selected from a constantly growing field for experimenting where effective pioneer work has been done, but where admittedly only partial accomplishment can yet be claimed.

Centralized School Bureaus: Cincinnati[1]

The Cincinnati Vocation Bureau is a part of the public school system, but is carried on as a joint enterprise by the school authori-

[1] Outstanding examples with experience extending over a period of ten years or more are Cincinnati, Boston, and Chicago. In these centers organized placement

ties and a private organization, the Council of Social Agencies. The latter provides both financial aid and co-operation in case work. The Bureau has in its centralized office the following subdivisions: school attendance and school census; work certificates and placement; psychological clinic; educational measurements and scholarships. Other activities include supervision of working children who are feeble-minded and an adjustment office, the latter handling juvenile delinquents.

In the psychological clinic, an important feature of the bureau, mental and physical tests have been given to children individually and in groups. In the department of educational measurements standardized tests in school subjects—reading, spelling, and so on—have been developed, and the work of group mental testing has more recently been taken over by this department. Comparison of the group educational test is made with the group mental test as a basis for judging the degree of success attained in the training provided by the schools.

The work certificate and placement office are combined, and the seven workers on the staff at the time of our visit were interchangeable. The applicant for a work certificate is informed of the placement facilities of the central office and is referred for placement if needing a job. For each child assisted in employment the placement office obtains a cumulative record card which includes the child's school history, physical record, statement of family conditions, and teachers' estimate of ability. If necessary a mental test is also secured. All available records are assembled before placement is made. Most of the applicants for employment are those who have recently left school. The applicants placed are followed up through reports from employers; and home visits, in part by volunteers, are made in special cases.

Vocational counselors in several of the high schools, and teachers serving on a part-time basis, one in each elementary school, help to connect up the work of the Bureau with the schools. The repre-

was first attempted under private auspices and in close connection with the schools; within the past six years it has become a part of the school systems receiving the direct support of school authorities. In Cincinnati the work of the Vocation Bureau was taken over by the school system in 1915. Chicago followed in 1916, and in 1917 the Boston Placement Bureau became part of the Department of Vocational Guidance under the school system.

sentatives of the elementary schools are under direction of the Vocation Bureau head, and the plan is to meet weekly at the central office for conference. General vocational information has been prepared by a member of the placement staff, which includes a report on the boot and shoe industry.

In addition to forms of work emphasized in Cincinnati a significant development from the standpoint of administration should be noted. The vocation bureau is situated in the same building with the attendance bureau and the work certificates office.[1] The advantage of such close contact with other school departments has already been pointed out. This applies especially to the work certificates office and affords a strong argument for centralizing placement work within the school system.

Co-operation Between the Public Schools and the United States Public Employment Service in Pittsburgh

In Pittsburgh organized placement work for juniors has come to the fore in recent years through the co-operation of the schools with the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service.[2]

We are thus able to note the influence which an outside agency has exerted in a particular community, resulting in the increased activity of the school authorities in the field of vocational guidance and placement.

Under the wartime organization of the Employment Service, an associate superintendent of schools in charge of vocational work was appointed Superintendent of Guidance and Placement at a dollar a year. Space was provided for the work in the women's department of the local public employment office.

Subsequently when the Service was short of funds, additional appropriations were provided by the school authorities for carrying on the work of the school Vocational Guidance Department. This included the appointment of a vocational counselor in each of nine

[1] This is true also of the Boston and Chicago school bureaus; and in Philadelphia, where placement work was first organized in 1916 in the Bureau of Compulsory Education the office is similarly combined with these school departments.

[2] The Junior Division was first developed after the armistice, and has followed a policy of appointing school officials as directors of local projects. These may still retain their school connections and in some instances have delegated much of the work to subordinates.

high schools, working in most cases on a part-time basis. When in July, 1920, some money was available from the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service the junior work was reorganized. Financial aid from this source has continued since then and has been used in part in the payment of salaries. Other aid rendered included the franking privilege, office rent, telephone service, the use of office furniture, and the assignment of students holding fellowships at the University of Chicago and Carnegie Institute of Technology for placement office work. The Service assists in establishing standards and recommends methods of guidance and placement. Selection of officers and direction of the work remain, however, with the schools.

In the fall of 1920 a placement office for those between sixteen and twenty-one years of age was opened in the downtown district. A staff of four members is in charge and the office is available to young persons under twenty-one in the Pittsburgh district. At the same time two placement officers were assigned to the continuation school, also situated in the downtown or commercial section. On the same premises work certificates are issued and children given medical examinations. Those applying for work certificates who have not secured jobs already—and they are in the minority—are helped in finding employment. Continuation school children are assisted when changing jobs and at such times are given physical re-examinations.

In the office placing the older age group, records of individual children, giving information on their school experience, are available. These records are made up in the eighth grade and are continued for pupils who attend high school. Continuation school records of those approaching the age of sixteen are also forwarded to this office. The bulk of applicants handled are those making re-application, and the work of replacement is considered especially valuable. Mental testing is provided under the school system and simple mental tests are given in the placement office. Tests also are given in general office practice. The latter are important as the greater number of placements made are in commercial occupations. Follow-up work is being developed by visits to employers, and one evening a week is set aside for counseling with individual applicants. These are reached also by telephone and by postal

card invitations to visit the office. Special letters and literature are sent out and personal calls made.

Vocational counselors in the high schools secure the benefit of placement office experience through meetings held at regular intervals with officers of the Vocational Guidance Department, and the head of the placement office for the more advanced age group has direct contact with principals and teachers. Some placing is done by vocational counselors, and in such cases the plan is to forward the records to the main placement office.

Special Departments of Public Employment Offices

Experience with centralized public employment offices has been confined mainly to the work for boys and girls under eighteen years of age organized by the New York State Bureau of Employment in the early part of 1918;[1] and by the Cleveland office. The latter has had a longer experience, dating from 1915 when a girls' bureau previously under private auspices became a part of the women's department of the public office, and in 1916 a boys' department was established in the men's division.

The offices situated in Rochester, Syracuse, and Albany were visited for the purpose of observing placement work within the public bureau. They were selected because they exhibit some of the outstanding advantages of centralized effort in the medium or perhaps smaller sized city. In fact we find in these cities the problem so much simplified as compared with conditions in metropolitan centers that the field is practically clear. The usual handicap of physical limitations and of competing agencies is absent.

The most striking feature in the administration of these offices from the start has been the close co-operation with the school authorities. This has been secured in part by the appointment of school principals and superintendents on the local junior advisory boards of the public offices, and has been supplemented by the good work done by the placement office staffs. These staffs consist of a supervisor and two assistants in each office.

In Syracuse at the time of our visit a compulsory system of registering children who are leaving school had been in force for about a year.[2] School records for each child entitled to a working cer-

[1] In Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and Brooklyn. [2] April, 1921.

tificate were regularly mailed to the central placement office. Accompanying these were school information blanks furnished by the placement office on which the teacher's estimate is given. Applicants for work certificates issued by the Board of Health are thus required to report first at the placement office before applying for a medical examination. Placement work for the vocational high school had been taken over by the public office and children were being referred from the continuation school for employment.

In Rochester a selective method of co-operating with the schools has been in force. By special arrangement with one junior high school, placement has been carried on through the public office. Applicants have been referred with a teacher's estimate blank for part-time or permanent jobs, and each two weeks reports showing action taken have been sent back to the head of the school department of vocational guidance. A similar arrangement has been in effect in connection with the new continuation school. In addition, the co-operation of visiting teachers has been secured in referring individual children for placement and a beginning made with subnormal children. Work for the latter has been found to be especially difficult, however, and needs to be undertaken with care.

In all three cities the schools were being visited at intervals by the placement office staff to obtain the interest of teachers and principals. In Albany an office representative was spending a half hour each day at the continuation school interviewing those in need of employment. Outside of this arrangement, not much has been done in these cities to interview children at the schools either individually or in groups. The group interviewing plan, however, has met with approval in the Brooklyn and Cleveland public employment offices.

As already noted, junior advisory committees have been at work in all three centers as originally provided by the law establishing the state bureau of employment. In addition to representatives of the schools the membership of these committees includes employers and employes and others interested in child welfare. In Syracuse the committee membership was 13 and meetings were being held bi-monthly. According to the chairman of the committee who was the principal of the vocational high school, the work done has been worth while.

In Rochester and Albany the advisory committees have not met so regularly, but in all three cities sub-committees have been appointed, with a record of definite accomplishment. This includes securing co-operation of the schools and general publicity for the placement work. In some cases scholarships have been provided; in Albany and Syracuse this was done through members of the advisory committees. Recently one was granted in Syracuse to a Porto Rican youth who single handed had been attempting to secure an education at the same time that he was trying to support himself. In Rochester one sub-committee has collected information on local occupations which is to be recorded in pamphlet form.

Visits to employers have been a part of the routine work of the offices, as well as the following-up at intervals of those placed, usually by letter to employers and through postcards to children requesting that they call at the office at an evening hour during the week. Attendance of applicants at evening trade classes has been encouraged.

In follow-up work through home visiting, Syracuse has employed the services of several students from Syracuse University who are given credit at the University for their work. In Albany an office representative obtains from the Board of Health names and addresses of children granted work certificates, and these are regularly turned over to the local associated charities for home visits by their volunteer staff.

The office arrangement in Rochester is well-nigh ideal, with a ground floor location situated between the men's and women's departments and a separate entrance. The Syracuse office is combined with the women's department, which also has a separate entrance and is especially attractive in appearance. In all three cities the interchange of orders and applicants' records with the men's and women's departments has been made easier by the general office layout. Such close co-operation between the different departments is a significant feature of public employment office work.[1]

[1] Placement figures for the fiscal year ending June, 1920, in the three offices were: Rochester 1523; Syracuse 1279; Albany 776.
Report of State Industrial Commission, Albany, 1920, p. 192.

School Bureaus versus Public Bureaus

Experienced workers are agreed generally that a centralizing of supply and demand for junior workers, as well as uniform methods in placement and advisory work for this particular group, is essential. For it is obvious that a wider selection of applicants and jobs can be made through a centralized bureau than through several unrelated agencies or by informal methods. With this much agreed upon, the question at once arises as to whether the school administration or the public bureau is to be the starting point and base of operation.

In England this question has been debated so long as to be dubbed an "ancient controversy," and the same thing bids fair to hold true in this country. For administrative purposes the school has a distinct advantage over the public bureau; first of all through its more ready access to school records giving such facts as attendance, conduct, proficiency in studies, health record, home conditions, teachers' estimates, and record of mental tests. Furthermore, the school bureau has an advantage in being able to link up the work of placement with any plan for vocational guidance within the schools, sometimes under a single head. For example, in Boston the school placement bureau has been referred to by a local school official as "the nucleus of our vocational guidance work." The head of the placement bureau is director of the vocational guidance department, and what is most important she is able to supply vocational advisers with industrial information upon the basis of concrete placement experience. This arrangement indeed is of first importance in dealing with juniors both educationally and as workers; and it cannot be offset from an administrative standpoint by any compromise plan under a divided authority such as co-operation of the public bureau and the schools.

There is, however, something to be said on the other side of this question. Past experience has shown that educational authorities stand sorely in need of employment information and of the everyday contact with industry such as the public bureau provides in the work of both its junior and adult departments. Furthermore, there are instances where service in this field can be rendered by only a comparatively slight extension of existing public employment

office machinery. And the individual employer finds advantage in a centralized bureau such as the public office affords when he requires both adults and juniors. The interchange of both employers' orders and applicants' records between departments dealing with adults and juniors for the benefit of those in the border zone between youth and maturity would also seem to be more easily accomplished in the public bureau. There is the ever present danger, too, that the schools will tend to emphasize the placement needs of children leaving school to the exclusion of the much larger number who have already entered industry.

As we weigh both sides of this question, and see the advantages of both methods, three conclusions seem clear. First, where there is a free field for action, neither the schools nor the public bureaus having done anything toward setting up a centralized placement organization, then the schools should take the initiative. But, second, where the public employment bureau has already entered the field and has obtained the co-operation of the schools as it has in the New York State offices already mentioned, it seems a mistake for the schools to attempt to set up another placement organization. Thus far neither has established its superiority so completely as to give it exclusive claim on the field; and under the circumstances it appears best to develop existing machinery by building on the experience already gained rather than to start in anew and thereby to duplicate agencies. Third, wherever the primary administrative responsibility is lodged, it is essential that the schools and the public bureaus should co-operate in junior placement work.

Co-operation Between Schools and Public Employment Offices

Since this study has to do with the work of the public employment offices, further space may be taken only for the consideration of methods of carrying on junior placement work in the public offices. This plan, as already suggested, if an all-round program of junior placement is to be undertaken, needs as full co-operation from the public schools as it is possible to get. The school authorities can give valuable assistance through representation on the advisory committee of the public office, by referring applicants to the public office and by supplying information regarding individual

children. They may also give vocational counsel to pupils and to children leaving school; the public bureau supplementing such efforts by directing to suitable employment those who in large numbers have broken off school connections.

The experience of England shows that along with other important functions the junior advisory committees have helped to bridge the gap between the schools and the employment bureaus. In fact from the start the organized work of junior employment in England was practically a joint project of the Board of Education and of the authority in charge of the labor exchanges (at first the Board of Trade but at present the employment department of the Ministry of Labour).[1]

So far there has been little experience with similar advisory committees in this country with the exception of the Cleveland and the

[1] "In the course of a year's work at junior placement, over half a million registrations were made by the national exchanges and placements amounted to over a quarter of a million. Of some 250 committees closely associated with junior exchanges, about 100 are set up by educational authorities in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour. Educational authorities are allowed to take the initiative, and where the Ministry of Labour sets up the committee there is a minimum of six members representing the other party to the agreement."—United States Children's Bureau, Publication No. 60, Washington, 1919, pp. 135, 137.

The English committees are generally engaged in carrying on propaganda by circularizing employers to induce them to report their vacancies to exchanges and in obtaining knowledge of general employment conditions; for example, hours of junior employment in trades not covered by restrictive legislation. Some committees have been able to call conferences of employers and trade unionists in a certain trade or a group of trades in a certain district and have worked for better conditions such as higher wages and shorter hours or better provisions for attendance at classes or to secure permanent absorption into a trade of all boys and girls who enter it, and the development of apprenticeship schemes. Special meetings are also held for teachers and parents; and parents and school-leaving children needing special advice or those at work are interviewed by committee members at the office of the Exchange. Sub-committees are appointed to examine the placings made; and the finding of suitable employment for delicate and physically unfit children, as those rejected by the certifying factory surgeons, is also attempted.

The committees also assisted in the operation of the unemployment centers for juniors conducted by the educational authorities for a number of months subsequent to the armistice. Payments of out-of-work donations were made at the Exchanges upon condition of regular attendance at the centers where lectures and manual and physical training were given. Somewhat similar to the operation of these centers in England was the work of the Trade Extension Classes in New York City growing out of the unemployment crisis in 1914–15. This experiment, together with that of the English Centers, provides experience for handling juniors in future trade depressions. For it must be recognized that they are a group with special needs at such times as contrasted with the great body of workers. See publication of Children's Bureau quoted above, pp. 132–141; *Labour Gazette*, February, 1917; and *The Month's Work*, publications of the Ministry of Labour.

New York State public offices.[1] Reference, however, has already been made to the policy of the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service by which school officials were appointed as heads of junior departments, which may be taken as another means of securing school aid.

II. ESSENTIALS IN JUNIOR PLACEMENT

Various principles of office practice have already been suggested in outlining the work of the several school and public bureaus. These may now be summed up and several of the more important features emphasized; among them the following: keeping children in school; knowledge of industry; protection of young persons in industry; and follow-up work.

Keeping Children in School

One important feature of the work of vocational counselors in the public schools is the effort to encourage capable pupils to continue their studies and to prevent the unnecessary dropping out of children by making readjustment in their training where necessary before the school connections have been broken off. Every well-organized junior placement department in the public bureaus will also keep before it constantly the question of holding children in school. That object should not be lost sight of even if the main business of the offices is placement. This may be done, for example, in co-operation with the schools through a replanning of school training in individual cases or by referring applicants to evening vocational classes or trade schools. Centralized placement bureaus within the school system in particular have kept this objective in view. As the greater number of applicants at the public office will presumably already have been at work and stand in need of advice, the provision of this kind of service to help them get further training is necessary and valuable.

For the purpose of providing further education, scholarships for promising children who would otherwise be forced to go to work have been made use of in a number of centers. The Vocational

[1] See further discussion of the work of advisory committees to local bureaus on pages 189 and 213.

Scholarships Committee of the Henry Street Settlement, New York City, has done pioneer work in this matter.[1]

Knowledge of Industry

Knowledge of industry is especially necessary in the junior field in order to give effective service to both employer and applicant. It is of two kinds: first, general industrial and vocational information regarding particular trades; and secondly, specific information on the places where workers are in demand. The former should be gathered locally in accordance with the needs of a single community; and already a store of such information is available through the Minneapolis and Cleveland surveys of occupations and publications of the Boston Vocation Bureau, now under the Division of Education, Harvard University.[2]

Such general material should be supplemented by investigation of particular jobs open to applicants, important conditions being wages, steadiness of employment, health risks, and chances for advancement. And by following the child into industry in good jobs and bad, and through recourse to trade experience had by the adult departments of public offices, especially valuable information can be obtained.

Protection of Young Persons in Industry

Attempts have been made by placement agencies to live up to the principle of never sending a child to an uninvestigated work-place; and the Boston school placement bureau discourages the practice of handling "rush orders." In both school and public bureaus, positions are investigated before applicants are referred to them. In New York City valuable assistance in this service was rendered for some years by the Bureau of Information, a private undertaking giving free service, which had a special staff of investigators.[3] It is nevertheless possible for a bureau, with a limited staff, to obtain

[1] Now a part of the Vocational Service for Juniors, a private organization operating in connection with the New York City public schools.

[2] See also, A Guide to the Study of Occupations, by F. J. Allen, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1921. Also publications of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington, Government.

[3] At present, reports of investigations are made by a number of agencies interested in young workers which do the work co-operatively, and the reports are kept on file in the office of the State Industrial Commission.

much detailed information regarding particular work opportunities by following up applicants placed, through factory visits and correspondence with employers, by observation in the course of job soliciting, and from workers who have re-applied at the office.

Yet the safeguarding of individual applicants may easily be carried to an extreme by overzealous placement examiners. Evidently unless a practical monopoly of junior placement is secured, with the assurance that unfavorable openings will remain unfilled, any attempt to secure special advantages for a single group of workers will be of but limited value. For such a practice can have no appreciable effect on standards of working conditions as applied to the great mass of children who are forced to accept industry as they find it. Aside, then, from the minimum requirement that child labor and school laws should be observed by the placement agency for the protection of children and of employers, applicants should be encouraged to undertake work in which there is a reasonable prospect of advancement under decent working conditions; and for the average child in the average job there should be supervision while at work, with a view to aiding him to advance, such as provision for an advantageous change of employment or special training. The bureau should hold to its task of securing employment, and leave other protective work for young workers to the agencies especially adapted to dealing with it.

In contact with employers both in investigating work opportunities and in soliciting orders, the public bureau should especially avoid giving the impression that it has available a reservoir of young workers to be drawn upon at will, and office representatives should be ready to suggest the substitution of those of more mature age wherever practicable.

Finally, a word may be said as to the age limits for applicants in school and public bureaus. This is another point on which there is much difference of opinion, but one conclusion at least may be indicated. Thorough placement examiners will not be inclined to give up interest in individual applicants simply because these have arrived at the eighteen-year age limit. High and trade school graduates and "drop-outs" may be as much in need of help as those less mature, and equally unable to bargain successfully with employers. In the English exchanges the age limit is eighteen, as is the case in

New York State public offices. The Junior Section of the United States Employment Service provides for "young persons under twenty-one." And both the Cleveland public bureau and the Boston and Cincinnati school bureaus do not keep to the eighteen-year age limit. If the eighteen-year limit is set in the public bureau, the rule should be flexible enough to allow some degree of discretion on the part of staff workers in its enforcement.

III. FOLLOW-UP WORK

Follow-up work should be done in connection with young persons generally, but it applies especially to the fourteen- to sixteen-year age group. Supervision is given in order to direct individuals to new occupations if necessary or to further training, and at the same time to render better service to employers. The work records of children obtained through systematic supervision may also offer valuable information and serve as a basis for making a more satisfactory adjustment of the school training to individual and group needs.

A follow-up letter may be sent to the employer asking whether the child is still at work, wages paid him, and his progress in a particular occupation. A visit to the employer may enlist his interest in particular cases. A child's home may be visited or a postcard be sent to the child's address requesting an interview at an evening office hour, the child to be accompanied to the interview if possible by the parent. In England, advisory committees have helped to attract a large number of volunteers for follow-up work and they are now a permanent feature of the junior departments of labor exchanges; this has been done in a few cases in this country also. The English experience indicates that volunteers should not visit employers unless specifically directed by the office to do so, but should confine their supervision to meeting applicants at the office or to making home visits. Nor should they be required to assume any responsibility in the actual work of placement. They may, however, give valuable aid in checking up the work of the office and in determining the effectiveness of the service rendered.

CHAPTER XXXII

HANDICAPPED WORKERS

IN PUBLIC employment offices the term "handicapped worker" has been used to designate the physically disabled person whose working ability is reduced, or whose ability to make a wage bargain with the employer is generally limited because of such handicap. And not only has the handicap affected the attitude of employers but also that of the public. Both have failed to recognize the possibilities for regular employment of these workers. This is especially true of a single type, the crippled, as is well put in the report of the Cleveland survey of cripples made in 1916: "The cripple finds that the hardest obstacles to overcome in his whole career are often the ideas in the minds of the rest of us—our mistaken ideas about cripples. An ambitious mechanic looking for a real job finds himself classified with the shoestring peddler on the street, just because he has the same disability."[1] And such an attitude inevitably creates a "group of sensitive recluses, who only wish to come out after dark, and the discouraged workman who keeps his crippled hand well hidden in his pocket."

But aside from the handicapped worker's difficulty in overcoming the prejudice of both employers and the public, there is another characteristic which applies to certain types. The blind and badly crippled cannot go about in search of work. They are thus less able to keep in touch with sources of work, and even where they do have definite information regarding openings they need assistance in making application.

Types of the Handicapped

It is essential to remember that handicapped persons are of different types. The tendency to include all who are suffering from

[1] Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult. A survey of all the cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916. By Committee on Cripples of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. Publication of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, New York, Series II, No. 3, 1918, p. 14.

hereditary and environmental disabilities under the one broad term works against the best interests of this group.

The types include the blind, deaf, crippled, and persons recovering from organic troubles, such as tuberculosis and heart affections, and from mental and nerve diseases. The Handicap Section of the United States Employment Service added still another group—the aged. It was the plan of this section to regard forty-five as the period when years begin to be a handicap in seeking employment and to make special efforts for this group along with others having purely physical disabilities.

The emphasis thus placed on the employment needs of persons advancing in years was of considerable value, and an otherwise neglected source of labor supply was developed under conditions of acute labor shortage. But to set up any such blanket regulation premised on a definite age limit was of course dangerous. It is no doubt true that men engaged in hard physical labor may become prematurely old at forty-five, and that a semi-skilled operator on piece work may find it difficult to measure up to a high production standard at that age. Yet it is also true that experience and steadiness of character come with advancing years, and that both make for a reduced labor turnover especially among skilled mechanics and professional workers. This has been the experience of the Handicap Department of the Milwaukee public office; the head of the department says on this point: "Age is a handicap only when it is the principal reason for the individual's failure to find work, and the degree of that difficulty should determine whether or not he should be turned over to us."

General Aid for the Handicapped

The Cleveland Survey of Cripples makes a significant point regarding efforts in behalf of different types of handicapped persons. "The question at once arises and awaits answer," it says, "why the general problem of the crippled, which is numerically far greater, has attracted so much less attention than the problems of the deaf and the blind." Both public and private organizations for the benefit of the deaf and the blind are now well established, and we have a great variety of institutions for the blind engaged in preventive as well as in curative work. And employment work is at present

carried on either through the schools which train those so afflicted or through local associations. In Cleveland the society for the blind has on record practically every case in the city that needs assistance, a statement as to whether they are employable and if employed the nature of the job held. A considerable proportion of the secretary's time is spent in placement work.

In New York City the League for the Hard of Hearing operates an employment bureau in connection with its clubs, classes, and general educational work. Similar organizations for the deaf are to be found in several other large cities. Considerable assistance also has been given the deaf and dumb through public and private institutions; and because of training afforded in trade schools, placement work for them is said to be much simpler than for others, as for example, the hard of hearing.

Much less has been accomplished for other classes of handicapped persons. Of those suffering from organic diseases, the tuberculous are among the most important; and here again while considerable has been written about their employment problem, a recent questionnaire sent out by the New York Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men shows that not much has actually been done. One experimental factory was being conducted to give them work.[1] But there is no report of placement work outside of the efforts of a few agencies which provide for the tubercular along with others.

Within the past few years attention has been given to what may be termed a new type of handicapped—those suffering from heart trouble—and special clinics have been established where medical treatment is given. Such work calls for highly specialized effort in following up the cardiac patient on his discharge from the hospital and in helping to prevent the recurrence of an attack. The New York Association for the Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease is carrying on special propaganda in this field, and some placement work has been attempted through general agencies for the handicapped. Here the need is evident of discovering the large numbers of those afflicted and of directing them to suitable employment.

The report of the questionnaire sent out by the Institute reveals, also, a general lack of placement facilities for still another class to be included possibly under the term handicapped but lying rather

[1] *The Survey*, Vol. XLIII, p. 230, December 13, 1919.

outside of the public employment office field. This class comprises persons recovering from mental or nervous diseases. One psychopathic hospital was reported as doing some informal placement, probably duplicated by other institutions. But for such persons—presenting perhaps the most difficult employment problem of all—there is practically no available experience.

For the physically crippled workman, new impetus to better his condition has resulted from efforts made in behalf of the disabled soldier and also from the need to develop latent sources of man power during the wartime shortage of labor. Under government direction proper surgical and medical treatment has received added attention, and the use of artificial limbs and special work devices has become more general. Retraining for specific occupations and replacement in industry have also been emphasized anew by the Federal Board for Vocational Education as essentials in the care of the disabled. And while the work of the Board in behalf of war cripples is temporary in nature, public interest in the cripple as well as in all handicapped, has been immensely stimulated by the war and the literature dealing with the general problem of rehabilitation greatly increased. Although it may be too early as yet to pass final judgment upon the theories and experience developed in this country and abroad, still we may expect permanent improvement in methods of handling the whole problem.[1]

Beginning in 1918 rehabilitation work was developed especially for persons crippled by industrial accidents in a few states and under state authority. And in June, 1920, the federal government passed a law in addition to earlier special legislation in behalf of the disabled soldier, which provides for the vocational rehabilitation of persons "disabled in industry or otherwise." Under the terms of this act the federal appropriation is administered through the Federal Board for Vocational Education and may be matched dollar for dollar by the different states. State action under this law bids fair to be general for by April, 1921, no less than 41 of the states

[1] See American Journal of Care for Cripples, New York City, and publications of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Also article, Placement Technique in the Employment Work of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, New York, May, 1918; and other publications of this Institute, now the Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, particularly the pamphlet, Three Years of Work for Handicapped Men, July, 1920.

had accepted the terms of the federal act either provisionally by proclamation of the governors, or finally by legislative action.

Return of Disabled Workers to Industry

One special limitation in the disabled workman's return to industry and unfavorably affecting his bargaining power with the individual employer has come through the general introduction of workmen's compensation laws in the various states. Employers have been reluctant to engage handicapped workers who might increase their danger of liability under such laws, and some fear that a worker may become permanently disabled as the result of a second injury. This objection is now overcome, however, in eight states where compensation for extra liability no longer rests upon the employer in individual cases but is met out of a fund specially created.[1]

A more serious difficulty standing in the way of re-employment for the disabled is the employer's fear that such persons may be unable to do a full day's work. And some of them say also that "they don't want their places to look like hospitals," although they may be willing to re-employ those injured in their own establishments. But such objections have been satisfactorily answered for many employers, and both public and private agencies have had considerable success in placing individuals, preferably after handicapped workers have had a period of special training, in open competition with other workers. To this end, recent job analysis studies made by industrial experts have undoubtedly contributed much by opening up new occupations for the disabled.

With increased facilities for making trade and general mental tests, the use of devices as substitutes for a workman's missing members, and with opportunities for training on the job or in special schools, the cruder placement methods in vogue in years past will be more and more discarded. It is becoming increasingly possible to approach an employer in the applicant's behalf not on the basis of a charitable appeal but as a business proposition. And no longer, it is hoped, will the disabled person have as his sole objective, "a little watching job" or "any job that happens to turn up."

[1] Proceedings, International Association of Public Employment Offices, September, 1920, Department of Labour, Ottawa, p. 162.

To quote from the experience of the Milwaukee public employment office: "In factories, stores, printing offices, salesrooms and hotels there are certain routine processes or tasks into which the handicapped man can be fitted without the lowering of production or efficiency. Some machine operations can be done with one hand. It is possible for disabled men to do certain assembling and machine processes while seated. Men who have lost a hand have become efficient acetylene welders. Tire repairing, cobbling and leather working and much machine and bench work are possible for men who have lost both legs. Disabled clerical workers are at a slight disadvantage, if any." This experience may be duplicated in the work of other offices. Blind persons in particular have proved themselves capable at armature winding and assembling in the electrical industry.

Serving the Handicapped in the Public Employment Office

In the placement work for blind, deaf, and crippled persons valuable assistance is rendered through specialized bureaus; and it is probable that public employment offices are afforded the best opportunity for service with the last named group. Yet as a rule they have figured but little in the past even in this field, although incidental placement of the handicapped has been a part of the regular routine in some offices. With the more general introduction of the public employment service, the tendency will no doubt be to assign special examiners for this work. Indeed, such treatment is absolutely essential in adjusting the disabled person to industry, and in the large office a sufficient staff should be provided.

Yet a word of caution should be given here. Experienced employment workers urge that this branch of the service should not be introduced too hastily into any community. And they emphasize the need for putting the general work of the office on a firm footing before attempting to provide special accommodations for the handicapped. Otherwise there is danger that both employers and the public may jump to the conclusion that the office serves mainly handicapped workers, and the general work of placement may suffer correspondingly.

In Milwaukee in 1918 a department for the handicapped was organized in the public office and crippled persons and tuberculous

soldiers have been furnished employment, the latter being referred to the office by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Training has been provided through the state vocational schools. The mentally defective and epileptic were not accepted as applicants. Both Cincinnati and Cleveland have had a worker assigned by a local private organization to the public office—in Cleveland by an association for the crippled and disabled. In Minnesota the state division of re-education detailed a placement officer to the state public office in St. Paul for work with persons recovering from illness as well as industrial accident cases. In another state—New Jersey, in February, 1922—the Department of Labor had established centers in four cities which are a combination of employment office, industrial clinic, and quarters for the hearing of industrial accident cases.

Placement Methods in the Public Employment Office

New and widespread interest in improved facilities for returning disabled workers to industry offers much encouragement to the placement officer in the public employment office, but it is safe to say that his responsibility for keeping in touch with employers and convincing them that handicapped applicants can do good work is double that necessary in helping to place the normal worker. Unsolicited calls by employers for handicapped men are the exception, and where they do come they are usually the result of a general advertising campaign. Knowledge of local industries and available jobs is therefore absolutely indispensable, for it is necessary to know the kinds of work that are adapted to handicapped workers. It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of field work by the office staff both to get such information and to show employers in what places good service can be rendered by disabled workers. Such educational work, too, should not end with the employer and employment manager. The plant foreman must also be won over as he frequently has the final decision in hiring the worker and in adjusting him to the job; and winning his co-operation is occasionally no small task, for even where the employer is receptive the foreman sometimes hesitates to run the chance of lowering production by employing a handicapped person.

Again, it is necessary in placement work for the handicapped to a

Surname | First name | Address | Flight / Phone | Classification

Date

Work desired

Min. wage

Work impossible | Work objected to

No. hours can stand | Crutches 1 / Crutches 2 | Brace / Art. leg | Dress arm / Work arm | Cane. / Blt. shoe

Orthopedic handicap | Special interests

(Note left, right) | How crippled? | When? | Compensation / Damages

Height | Weight | Hearing | Sight | Sp. Tb. Card | Other physical defects

Hospitals interested and dates

Regiment | Company | Rank | Length of Service | Date discharge | Pension | Further education desired

Age | Date of birth | Birthplace | Parents' birthplace | Yrs. in U. S. | Al. | Cit. | Colored | Cath. | Jew. | Prot. | Languages spoken

Single . Wid. Sep. Div. | Wife's name | Father's | Mother's | Brother's | Sister's | Children's names | Nearest friend | Union | At home | Bding | Go out of home | Live h

Last elem. school | Address | Grade | Age at leaving | No. Years' schooling | Pers.

Special Training and Tests

School	Date Left	Period	Subjects

Letter. Imp. Unus. Amb. Br. Nt. capa. pl. dr. rgh. shift. sb. st. Clerical

Handwriting | Letter | Arith. | Spell. | Geog. | Telephone | General
Org. interested S. S. E. | No. record. | C. O. S. | A. I. C. P. | J. A. B.

U. H. C. | B. B. C. | A. A. C. C.

Signature | Referred by

Registred by | Employees' Application. Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, 311 Fourth Avenue

REGISTRATION CARD FOR PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED PERSONS—AMERICAN RED CROSS

An example of a highly specialized registration form, as well as an indication of the data required in the placement of orthopedic cases. Size (reduced here) is 8 by 5 inches.

greater degree even than for the normal worker for the office constantly to advertise itself to applicants. Otherwise many needing the service would not make application. Among these may be included "types of need to be found among those partly or inadequately occupied," as cited by the Cleveland survey—the "man who has lost a leg through industrial accident and has as part compensation been given a job by his employer which does not use his capabilities." The instance is cited of "a young man of thirty, a bridge constructor formerly employed at $4.00 a day, now employed at running an elevator at $10 a week, glad of a job but equal to more." Definite publicity work is advocated, therefore, in order to educate the public to refer applicants to the office and to attract those in need of the service.[1]

Many experienced workers are convinced that the effort constantly to recruit certain types of the disabled must go hand in hand with another definite policy, the distinguishing between placeable and unplaceable applicants. If this is done the reputation of the office is not likely to suffer with the individual employer, and better service can be rendered to him and to the whole body of workers. Such a policy, it will be recalled, has already been recommended in handling casual workers, among whom may be found those who are practically unemployable. While unplaceable casuals or handicapped workers should be given the service they need, in the nature of the case it cannot be supplied by employment offices, and therefore should be undertaken by other agencies adapted to the purpose.

In the Milwaukee public office, reports have been received from the Workmen's Compensation Commission regarding the injured and word received from the county hospital when a patient was about to leave. Hospital visits have been made by the office representative and the individual consulted regarding plans for the future. Incidentally through such visits the patient's mind is set more at ease and his recovery may be hastened.

The importance of intensive case work is further emphasized in the need to overcome the applicant's initial discouragement in efforts at self-support. In fact, the danger that his feeling of general uselessness may result in confirmed apathy and lack of initiative is

[1] See Chapter XXVII, Publicity, page 502.

very great. It may, therefore, be necessary for the placement officer to differentiate between the "crippled cripple" on the one hand, and on the other the person who takes advantage of every opportunity and may be termed in contrast the "uncrippled cripple."

One placement examiner in discussing the matter said: "Interviews with handicapped persons must of necessity be long. Make clear to the applicant that you are asking questions solely to enable you to have a wide range in finding a job. If he needs encouragement, show him, as if on second thought, pictures of disabled men who have succeeded in spite of serious handicap. Mention a variety of things that persons with a handicap similar to his own have done. Impress upon the man's family the necessity for encouraging self-reliance, and if training and re-education are to be undertaken for the injured workman urge that this be done before the compensation fund is exhausted." And there is little doubt but that in a number of instances where it has been tried there has been advantage, particularly in assuring the applicant of a sympathetic and understanding interview and consideration of his case, in selecting as persons in charge of retraining and placement those who themselves have suffered from physical disability.

Some placement workers are of the opinion that the office representative should accompany the applicant to the job and be present at the interview with the employer or foreman. Others declare that after the work-place has been visited and arrangements made with the employer such efforts are wasted, as they tend only to "baby" the applicant and take away any feeling of self-confidence. Exceptions to this rule are the blind and possibly the hard of hearing. But even with the former there is strong insistence on using as far as possible methods applicable to persons with normal vision.

As in the case of juniors, supervision after placement is important, and the keeping of individual records. Through such supervision discouragement may be prevented, more satisfactory placements made, and difficulties arising on the job such as possible exploitation by the employer be overcome. As in service to juniors, also, an evening office hour should be set aside each week when the clientèle may consult with the office. Home visits may also be necessary as well as follow-up letters to applicants and those placed.

The requirement of intensive case work also implies the need of a certain amount of knowledge of different diseases; and hospital reports on the applicant's physical condition and examinations by dispensary physicians may be necessary, as well as their advice on suitable occupations. In St. Louis the Red Cross Bureau for the Handicapped was being operated in connection with an industrial clinic and the co-operation of the dispensary staff was made available there.

The general sanitary conditions of factories including lighting, ventilation, and the healthfulness of specific occupations must also be determined by the placement officer before referring these applicants. For the workers having arrested cases of tuberculosis, for example, the advantage of indoor occupations under proper health conditions as compared with "light outdoor work" has been emphasized by some authorities on the subject. The best advice available on these questions is needed.

Equally important in a general placement program is an acquaintance with related trades or callings in which the applicant's experience at a previous occupation may be of service, as well as knowledge of the industrial training necessary before the applicant is to undertake new work. Trade union restrictions and chances for advancement should also be known, and as far as possible a growing industry should be selected.

Finally, public employment work for the handicapped, as already indicated, should be linked with that of other agencies, such as schools for retraining, state departments of rehabilitation, and workingmen's compensation boards.

Advantages of Placement Work in the Public Office

In a field so comparatively new and where the question of employment is only a single factor in constructive effort, assistance rendered the handicapped by private and semi-public agencies will undoubtedly be considerable in extent. The contribution of such agencies, including the making of studies of occupations particularly adapted to the group and the development of special methods of retraining and placement, may be expected to be exceedingly valuable. This is true especially of work for the blind who may require much individual attention. Moreover, in an association

for the blind much may be accomplished in carrying on placement work as part of an all-round educational and preventive program. The appeal which this particular type makes to private philanthropy is also great.

Nevertheless the development of placement work for the handicapped as a special department of the public office is well worth considering. A better knowledge of general industrial conditions can be obtained through the public office than through most private bureaus and there is usually an easier approach to employers. A wider choice of occupation also may be made from the calls coming into the public office, and this applies especially to persons who are suffering from minor disabilities. Again, the objection that some applicants feel in an appeal to private charity is absent.

With the public bureau, too, there is the benefit which comes from centralized effort in placement work. Advocates of the public employment office have pictured it generally as a sort of hopper or common center for the receiving of employers' orders and applications for work in a single community; and placement work for the handicapped which is carried on by related agencies, such as state rehabilitation boards, would as a matter of course be undertaken in connection with the public office. The value of such a pooling of effort was in fact recognized in the agreement drawn up between the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the United States Employment Service. Under this plan the two agencies were to exchange employment information, the latter assisting placement officers of the Board in securing detailed information regarding openings for disabled soldiers. Through the early collapse of the federal Service the carrying out of this plan was prevented and the general extension of this feature of placement work in the public office was brought to an untimely end.

CHAPTER XXXIII

IMMIGRANTS

NUMEROUS organizations in the United States, public and private, are interested in the welfare of immigrant people, and consequently in their distribution throughout the country in a way that will prove advantageous to all concerned. Some sentiment is also to be found, and it seems to be growing, in favor of the public employment offices' playing an important part in shaping more or less directly a national immigration policy as well as in the carrying out of any general plan of distribution.[1] A comprehensive policy which would include a plan for admission and distribution is felt by many specially informed on the subject to be much needed, and such a policy may sooner or later be worked out; but in the meantime, as much improvement as possible in the work of the various private and governmental agencies aimed to serve immigrants is the least that should be attempted. To some extent the public employment offices have already been operating in this field, but before considering their activities, the work of a number of other agencies, private and governmental, should be noted.

Incidentally, important changes have been taking place in the immigration situation in recent years. In the earlier history of the country, immigrants came and were recruited from what proved a relatively unlimited supply. In recent years, however, various restrictive measures have been enforced culminating in the present law which regulates the entrance of aliens from different countries

[1] In the recommendations of the Labor Conference of the League of Nations the possible importance of labor exchanges in directing the movement of workers from one country to another is foreshadowed. Among other things it is recommended that "each member which ratifies this Convention shall establish a system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority. Committees, which shall include representatives of employers and workers, shall be appointed to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of these agencies . . . The operations of the various national systems shall be co-ordinated by the International Labour Office in agreement with the countries concerned."—Article 2, Draft Convention Concerning Unemployment, Washington Conference, 1919.

on a percentage basis. This new enactment promises to simplify the problem to some extent.

Private Agencies Distributing Immigrants

First in importance among these private enterprises are the fee-charging employment offices. The bulk of their clients, especially in years of heavy immigration, have been immigrants, and their operations frequently include not only the providing of information on employment, but also the carrying on of such related undertakings as immigrant banks, steamship ticket and notarial agencies, and boarding houses.

Then there are immigrant homes and societies which act as substitutes for fee-charging offices and generally serve religious or race groups. Such an agency is the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society. This society, contrary to the general rule of such organizations, has representatives in different parts of the country and operates not only locally but on a national scale. At its New York headquarters, in addition to providing employment for immigrants, other services are rendered which are closely related to the distribution of workers occupationally. These include meeting the newcomers upon arrival and giving them temporary shelter. And where immigrants are bound for other parts of the country their baggage is forwarded to railroad stations, addresses of friends and relatives in inland cities are verified, and their safe arrival insured.

Some employment assistance under private auspices has also been rendered in the past by the Chicago Immigrant Protective League. The League, however, does not confine its activities to a single racial group, and it includes in its general program a variety of educational and protective features.

Other distributing agencies acting in a private capacity have been commercial land development and railroad companies. Their general purpose has been to advertise opportunities on the land for prospective settlers both native and foreign born.

Governmental Agencies for Distribution

Similar to the last named group but without the commercial incentive have been the state immigration bureaus operating in a

number of states. By special provision of the federal immigration law opportunity is offered these or other state agencies to maintain representatives at the federal immigrant stations for the purpose of recruiting incoming aliens.

Public bureaus also have been organized in a few states in order to safeguard the interests of the newcomer, although they have not directly provided employment assistance. Notable examples of the latter have been the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration, and the City Immigration Office in Cleveland. In general they act as complaint bureaus, where legal difficulties may be adjusted either directly or by reference to the proper authorities, and they employ foreign-speaking representatives. In California especially the state bureau has a good record of accomplishment. A labor camp sanitation law has been enforced, immigrant education has been promoted, improved tenement and lodging house laws have been obtained, and protection has been afforded aliens against land frauds.

Results Secured by Certain Private and Public Agencies

These public and private undertakings have operated independently of public employment offices in dealing with the immigrant and they will need to be taken into account in any plan for distribution,[1] even though they have not been very effective when the size and needs of the field are considered.

As for the private fee-charging agencies, certain abuses practised by some of them have already been referred to.[2] And upon no class of worker do such evils bear more heavily than upon the non-English speaking foreigner, who as an unskilled worker must make his way in a strange land. Serious question may be raised as to whether these abuses do not nullify much of the current efforts to Americanize the foreign born.

As partial substitutes for private employment agencies there are

[1] Immigrants themselves have also been important factors in the distribution of newly arrived workers; for many of them on obtaining a foothold in this country write back for friends and relatives, often forwarding prepaid tickets and offering their own places of residence as destinations for those expected to come.

[2] See page 4.

the very limited activities of immigrant homes and societies. These are largely local in character. Moreover, the field of service in meeting the immigrant's many needs has been so wide and so varied that organized employment work of necessity has been subordinated.

The same story of only partial accomplishment must be recorded of the land development companies and state immigration bureaus. For they have been handicapped in certain important respects in attempts to attract the foreign born to the farming districts. Not only have individuals of the newer immigration been drawn away from agricultural sections by prospects of higher and more immediate returns in shops and factories and labor camps, but they have also lacked sufficient money to invest in the land on arrival. Many also have been without a knowledge of general farming methods, including the use of farm machinery, so essential to the successful working of the land in this country.

Work of Public Employment Bureaus in Distributing Immigrants

The first attempt by the Washington authorities at occupational distribution of arriving aliens was in 1907. In that year the Division of Information was established in the Bureau of Immigration under the Department of Labor. In the following year quarters were opened at Ellis Island. The office was, however, shortly removed to New York City, as it was found that little effective work could be done at the immigration station. One reason for this was that immigrants on arrival were eager to meet their friends and relatives and were not immediately interested in information about possible employment. By 1914 the Division was broadened to include native as well as foreign-born workers and was merged into the federal Employment Service.[1]

Methods used in the early years included the directing of inquirers in search of work to manufacturers' associations and individual employers in different parts of the country. Questionnaires were sent to country postmasters asking for information regarding farm lands to be purchased or leased, and the co-operation of state land

[1] See also page 129.

and labor officials was sought. Through the rural mail carriers, calls from farmers for farm help were also solicited.[1]

A still earlier effort to draw upon the immigrant labor supply in the New York City region was made through the establishment in 1905 of an employment bureau under the New York State Department of Agriculture, the bureau continuing until 1916. During that time more than 50,000 persons, a large proportion of them immigrants, were placed on farms in the state. Families as well as individuals were sent out and information distributed regarding farms for rent or for sale.[2]

Certain conclusions may be drawn from the operation of these bureaus and from later developments. Experience indicates that in any scheme for the distribution of immigrants, particularly on an occupational basis, the burden of effort must center not at the receiving stations at the principal ports of arrival, but rather in the populated districts close at hand and in cities in the interior where immigrants tend to gather. An exception which may be noted is that employment assistance may be given directly at the immigration stations for the comparatively small number temporarily detained because they have no fixed destination or have destination addresses which are inaccurate. Future developments may show also that our consular representatives in foreign countries will be able to give some occupational information of a general nature to prospective entrants. But on the whole, the setting up of machinery for distribution is an interstate and intercity affair which demands centralized direction and control by the authorities at Washington in co-operation with the different states.

[1] At the end of its first seven years of work the Division had directed to employment about 28,000 persons, 86 per cent of whom were aliens. As to its effectiveness, the United States Immigration Commission stated in 1910, as previously quoted in another connection, as follows: "As conducted the work of the Division appears to be essentially that of an employment agency whose chief function is supplying individuals to meet individual demands for labor in agricultural districts. It does not appear that persons thus distributed have as a rule, been distributed with the purpose that they would become permanent settlers in the districts to which they went, but rather that a more or less temporary need of the employer and employee was supplied through this agency."

[2] New York State Department of Agriculture, Report of Commissioner for nine months ending June 30, 1916, Part I, pp. 209–210.

Wartime Distribution of Immigrants

What is of greater national significance than either of the earlier efforts at distributing aliens already noted was the short-lived administration of the United States Employment Service under wartime conditions. With the large funds available and with the insistent demand for labor by war industries, branch offices were established in co-operation with state agencies in the midst of foreign colonies. These offices were situated in a number of strategic centers, such as Chicago, New York, and Cleveland, and they carried the service to the immigrant's door in drawing upon the available labor supply, both men and women. The degree of success attained by these offices was due in the main to two important factors: the establishment for the first time of offices for recruiting and distributing on what was more nearly a national scale, and the appointment as local examiners of persons speaking the language of their clients.

This is graphically described in a recent report made by W. M. Leiserson, in the Americanization Series of the Carnegie Corporation. In this report, based on a study covering the eastern and middle western states and dealing with the finding of employment for women, it is stated that in placing foreign-born women under wartime conditions the federal Service met with a greater degree of success than the fee-charging agencies; that public offices obtained more industrial orders, dealt with a better grade of employers, and covered a wider range of occupations than did their principal competitors. Whether such encouraging results are to be obtained in both men's and women's offices under peace-time conditions when there is not the same demand for all classes of workers, and when employers are possibly less inclined to make use of government agencies, remains to be seen. The investigation does show, however, that the methods used are applicable to the handling of both men and women workers.

Referring to the now practically inoperative federal Service the report by Dr. Leiserson says:

> In that city [Chicago] three district bureaus, under federal control, were organized to give service to foreign-born men and women.
>
> A visit to a Bohemian and Polish quarter found an attractive young

Bohemian woman in charge of the women's division of the district's office. She had a radiant interest in what she was doing; and she knew the range of employment possibility for Bohemian and Polish women throughout the city's industry. She spoke Bohemian with the applicants when necessary, but still did not lose a chance to stimulate them to learn English by using it herself, and showing them that with the language they could improve their earnings or conditions of work. She knew the traits and desires of the workers; her own home in the city had always been in the neighborhood of theirs. She understood the thrift of Bohemian and Polish husbands which sends wives forth for jobs; and this was a guide to her in determining the necessity for the night work which married women request.

A visit to the Polish quarter found a Russian-born woman in charge of employment who knew Polish countries firsthand, and who spoke Polish, as well as several other European languages. Like the Bohemian woman referred to, she had informed herself intelligently of industrial opportunities and conditions for people of the nationality her district office cared for; and she had the same sympathetic understanding on the ground of closely related racial stock. She had been the women's resource in unfortunate industrial experiences. In a case where a woman had lost a hand in a pie factory and had received no compensation, an inquiry brought out the fact that the Polish lawyer to whom she gave the case had collected and kept the money. In some instances the women reported money difficulties with the little Polish private employment agencies of the neighborhood, which the woman in charge of this office tried to have adjusted. She was energetic to promote citizenship among the workers, also. Of 1,500 applications for citizenship taken at the office in five months, 650 were women's. She tried to convince them of a connection between the intelligent participation of citizenship and the development of earning capacity. The district work here had been carried on about a year; and one record month attained a registration of 1,081 applicants—all Polish, and of the neighborhood.[1]

Public Employment Office Methods for Immigrants

Public employment office experience to date in dealing with immigrant workers has not departed very far from the general procedure followed in serving other applicants. In the few cases where experimenting has been done or where the question has been

[1] Leiserson, William M.: Adjusting Immigrant and Industry, pp. 52–53. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1924. Americanization Series, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

given careful thought, as in the case just described, the conclusion has been quickly reached that special service is necessary to meet the immigrant's needs. To quote from one observer of present conditions: "It is evident that immigrants require a special and unique attention and sympathy. A separate department working with its own peculiar technique, and in a different mood is demanded. Immigrants will not fit into the processes by which labour is ordinarily marketed."[1]

In addition to such service, which includes examiners who are able to speak several languages, and branch or district offices situated in immigrant colonies, one city, Cleveland, found advantage in establishing the city immigrant employment bureau in the City Hall in quarters adjoining the public employment office and under the same management. An interchange of services was thus effected. Workers were recruited in the immigrant bureau for job openings and its interpreters were available in both departments. Such measures provide no particular favors for aliens as against the treatment accorded native-born workers. Rather do they seek to equalize what otherwise are unequal opportunities for work and to give the consideration which is rightly due those persons who are admitted to the country in conformity with its immigration policies.

In some offices, also, carefully written directions have been given applicants when referred to employment. Other methods adopted include the posting of signs in foreign languages, contacts made for immigrants with local consular representatives and institutions of different nationalities, and publicity secured through the foreign-language press.[2]

It has been urged further by some that the public employment offices should afford special protection for immigrants in industry, and this is indeed an inviting field for the placement examiner whose sympathies have been aroused. There is difference of opinion as to how far he should go in rendering such assistance. It seems clear, however, that he should at least be familiar with the

[1] "The Public Employment Service and the Immigrant." Address by Professor J. W. MacMillan, in Proceedings, Eighth Annual Meeting, International Association of Public Employment Offices, Ottawa, 1920, pp. 40–47.

[2] In 1919 the United States Employment Service operated for a short time a press service in connection with foreign-language papers. The aims and the ways of securing service from the employment system were outlined.

resources by which an immigrant can be aided and refer him to the proper protective societies or public authorities. We believe that an interviewer should not go beyond this, for other public and semi-public agencies engaged in work aimed to check the abuses to which the immigrant is subject are, because of their equipment, in position to render more effective service. The public employment offices would better not go too far afield, but in the main should confine themselves to their own specialties—the spread of employment information and the placement of workers. This is a task requiring particular machinery and methods, and other services rendered are but incidental to it.

A wider adoption of such a policy will be a good beginning at least toward better results. An intimate knowledge of work opportunities in any locality will assist further, and tactful educational work among employers when individuals are referred to them for employment may lessen prejudice against one national or racial group or another. But further experimenting and pioneering in this phase of public employment work is essential if the following characterization of what happens in this country is to become untrue or less true: "The peasant goes to the mine, the engineer to the sweatshop. . . . Every Greek boy becomes a bootblack, every Scandinavian girl starts in housework, and every Jewish girl is sent to the factory. America takes little account of the immigrant's qualifications or efficiency—they all go into the caldron of common labor."

Public Employment Office Policy Toward Immigrants

Certain difficulties are bound to arise in attempting to shape a government policy of immigrant distribution, and one of these requires attention—the attitude, on the one hand, of organized workers toward the admission of immigrants to the country and their distribution on a national scale and on the other, the attitude of employers. Something of the problem is seen in the early opposition of organized labor to the work of the Division of Information under the Department of Labor. Objections then made may be summed up as follows: Through government assistance to aliens the American worker's standard of living would be undermined and his wages forced down to the foreigner's subsistence level. Employ-

ers would attempt, it was urged, to use the government bureau as a recruiting ground for cheap foreign labor. Such an agency, it was further claimed, would serve their special interests; for as one union leader put it on a later occasion, the employer fears a scarcity of labor—that is, a scarcity at one dollar a day! The importance of this question, it is true, is lessened to some extent through the recent restrictive immigration legislation; but the question is not eliminated. It is still a very live issue, the recent agitation for a less restrictive immigration policy being regarded by many leaders of organized labor as part of a campaign by employers for the open shop.

Consideration of this controversial question as far as it concerns public employment office administration appears to point to but one conclusion. The carrying out of definite office policies should be through the joint endeavors of the parties most interested, employers and workers, acting in an advisory capacity.[1] Machinery for such advising may best be established by providing for representation of employers and organized labor on central employment councils both at Washington and in the local communities. It might be found practicable also to include in the membership of the councils, leaders of different racial groups.[2]

Finally, an employment service built up as here suggested, having interstate co-operation and a certain amount of federal coordination and assistance, can do more than assist in the transfer of immigrant workers from one part of the country to another, important as that is. By indicating an actual shortage or surplus of foreign-born workers in different parts of the country, it could assist toward much more intelligent judgment than is possible at present as to both the amount and the character of immigration which the country could absorb industrially. A close working agreement, therefore, should be established between a national employment service and the federal Bureau of Immigration.

This suggestion, it should be noted, is not wholly a matter of experiment or theory. The United States Employment Service in fact has already had some experience in this direction during the

[1] One subject, for example, would come up for early decision—whether immigrants should be directed to employment in certain sections of the country where wages offered by particular employers are lower than prevailing rates in those localities.

[2] For a further discussion of the function and methods of advisory councils, see pages 189 and 213.

World War. For some months previous to the signing of the armistice in 1918, Mexican laborers were admitted to this country by special ruling of the Bureau of Immigration. This was done in order to meet the unusual shortage of labor in certain districts of the Southwest, and it was accomplished by a suspension of the law barring laborers under contract from entering the country. By agreement with the Bureau of Immigration the federal Employment Service was called upon to give assistance, and a special agent was stationed at El Paso, Texas, to co-operate with the supervising immigration inspector. It was found that by thus using the machinery of the employment service the necessity for importing Mexican laborers could be better determined, and it also proved a more efficient means for ascertaining the working conditions they would encounter upon admission.

In Canada, too, somewhat similar methods have been used recently in handling applications from employers to bring in workers from outside the country. There is a close working agreement between the Department of Labour, of which the Employment Service is a part, and the Immigration Department. The arrangement is not specified by law, but has been agreed upon by the two departments concerned.

The procedure is as follows: Requests for admission of labor received by the Canadian Department of Immigration are transmitted to the Employment Service. Two courses of action may then result. Either the Employment Service requests the immigration authorities to advise the prospective employer to apply at his nearest local employment office, or as happens more commonly the Service communicates directly with the employer in order to find out with a minimum of delay his actual requirements. In either case, unless highly specialized workers of a sort already known to be unobtainable in Canada are requested, it is taken for granted that Canadian workers may be available somewhere, and that not until the order for them has been circulated through the employment offices of the different provinces will it be possible to know definitely whether importation of new ones is necessary.

Occasionally the Immigration Department may report to the Employment Service that one or more workers destined to a particular firm are held up at the port of entry. The reason for detention usually is that the worker has not the requisite amount of

money or else that his nationality is not acceptable. In such cases, unless there are special circumstances, such as the fact that the workers possess skill or ability known to be unobtainable in Canada, the firm must supply particulars of its requirements to the nearest local employment office for circulation throughout the Dominion. If the demand for such workers as are detained is unusually urgent, the Employment Service may notify the Department of Immigration that there is no objection to their temporary admission, during which temporary period an inquiry regarding other available people is made in the usual way through the employment offices. If suitable workers are obtained the persons temporarily admitted will be subject to deportation at the end of the period agreed upon.

In a seventeen-months period ending in September, 1920, applications for the entrance of some 7,500 workers in specialized occupations were acted upon by the Canadian Employment Service. In some cases wages or other conditions were not such as to justify recommending importation to the Department of Immigration. In other cases the Dominion Employment Service was able to draw sufficiently upon the labor supply within the country to fill the needs. In this period it was found that to meet the demands of employers the Dominion could import a smaller number than had been asked for—some 5,700 persons—either for permanent or temporary employment.[1]

We find, also, what are the beginnings of a clearance system between Canada and England in the co-operative arrangement which has been undertaken of late between the Dominion Employment Service and the British Labour Exchanges. Orders for workers from individual firms have been forwarded from Canada to the English Exchanges and employment thus provided in Canada for British labor.

Such forward-looking methods as these and the further development of national systems of employment offices would seem to promise a more intelligent direction of the migration of workers between the different countries in the future than has been seen in the past.

[1] Data from memorandum furnished by the Canadian Employment Service, May, 1921.

CHAPTER XXXIV

NEGRO WORKERS

AS YET there has not been a great deal of experience in helping Negroes to obtain employment through the public bureaus; and on some points there is much difference of opinion, particularly in different parts of the country. Pending the time when greater experience will point more conclusively to the best procedure, it will be worth while briefly to note a few of the factors which should be kept in mind in adapting employment service to the special needs of Negro workers and in so shaping methods of work as to be of maximum assistance to them and the community.

Opposition to the Stimulation of Negro Migration

In the first place those interested in organized employment work must recognize that in the South there is growing opposition to any agency which recruits Negro workers for transfer out of the state or to distant parts of the country, so necessary is their labor to particular crops and their endurance of certain climatic conditions. During the late war this opposition became very strong and the more recent migrations of Negroes have tended to keep it so. In our field investigations, indications of the serious efforts being made to keep labor from leaving particular localities were noted; but this attitude is more concretely expressed in the laws regulating private fee-charging employment agencies. Practically every southern state has very drastic provisions governing the interstate activity of these agencies, and in a number of cases the courts have leaned toward an interpretation that would include the recruiting agents of private firms. While there is no distinction between colored and white labor in the statute, it was freely stated to our representative that the law was aimed chiefly to discourage the transfer of Negro workers. In Mississippi, for example, the law provides that each employment agent or person engaged in hiring laborers or soliciting

emigrants or laborers in the state to go beyond its limits must pay an annual license of $500 in every county in which he operates. A person found guilty of thus soliciting without license is subject to a fine of from $500 to $5,000, or he may be sentenced to hard labor for from one to six months.

In Alabama there is a provision that each labor agent shall pay annually a license tax of $2,500, and an additional sum, not to exceed 50 per cent of that amount, may be levied on him by the court of county commissioners or board of revenues in the respective counties in which he operates.

In Birmingham, moreover, the city requires a license of $2,500 if an agent's business extends for more than 75 miles outside, thus making a total license charge of from $5,000 to $6,250 for an employment agency in Birmingham which wishes to ship men out of Alabama. These license fees, as indicated, are merely illustrations of an attitude that is very general in the South.

Numerous instances were related to our representative of the efforts of citizens in one way or another to prevent the recruiting of Negroes for work in other localities or states, some of these even going so far as threats of violence to the recruiting agent. The opposition of employers in some of the southern states is well known and is also understandable, and any efforts to develop public employment work in these states will need to deal with this fact. As public employment bureau policies are better understood, however, we believe this opposition is bound to weaken; for as has already been pointed out, the tendency in the best public bureaus is to place workers as near at home as possible. All of the local possibilities for suitable work are exhausted first before sending candidates on long journeys in search of employment.[1]

Opposition Due to Fear of Union Influence

Undoubtedly some of this opposition in the South was also due to the belief on the part of many employers of Negroes that the United States Employment Service was not neutral but used its influence to promote the cause of organized labor. To what extent, if at all, that belief was well founded is not of present concern; the fact that many employers believed the Service partial to labor

[1] See pages 410 and 411.

unions turned them against the Service. But here again the defect is not necessarily inherent in the system, and the remedy is to be found in improving the methods of operation. In fact a plan that we believe would prevent even the appearance of partiality in a public employment service has been described and recommended in previous chapters of this report.[1] It is essential that both locally and nationally these safeguards against a partisan administration of the Service be perfected and that they be better understood. When that is done opposition of the kind here described should disappear.[2]

The Factor of Race Prejudice

In all parts of the country the factor of race prejudice is encountered to greater or less extent and needs to be taken into account by the Service. This takes the form of limiting the occupations open to Negro workers. Not so long ago practically the only lines of work open to them were farm and plantation help, personal service, and common labor. While the range of occupations has greatly increased within recent years, nowhere is it so large as it can and should be. What is needed is intelligent and persistent educational work among employers as to the suitability of colored workers for certain kinds of work—many more kinds than have heretofore been acknowledged—and their capacity for discharging new responsibilities not only to the advantage of employer and workman but also to the advantage of the community as a whole and of our developing industrial life. If a colored man with high school or college training is held down to a common laborer's job because of prejudice when he otherwise might be employed as an executive or in other more productive labor, both he and industry suffer an unnecessary economic loss.

The first step in reducing this race prejudice is a knowledge of the facts regarding the requirements of particular jobs and the ability of individual workers. Then examiners in the public bureaus must realize that in many cases the suitability of certain Negro workers

[1] See especially the discussions of local and national councils beginning on pages 189 and 213.

[2] A certain amount of opposition to a national employment service was also found traceable to an adherence to the states' rights theory of government. This again would be met, we believe, by the plan of organization here outlined, in which the system is built around the states as the real units of responsibility.

for particular jobs should be brought to the attention of employers. This cannot be too greatly emphasized. The public bureau has a special educational task to perform in showing where Negro workers who might not otherwise be considered at all should be given an opportunity to show their fitness for new tasks if the labor of the nation is to be utilized to its maximum possibilities. This service does not differ in principle from that which the bureau gives to any worker, but it requires a genuine and sympathetic interest in finding work for Negroes.

The educational work, however, should not be limited to the employer. It is important to show workers also that with the proper diligence and industry they can fit themselves for places which will mean personal advancement and which will help them to reach spheres of greater usefulness and responsibility.

One federal employment director in the South summed up the case as follows: "The work of a Negro specialist must be mainly in stimulating within the Negroes themselves a desire to get better jobs and to educate employers to use Negroes for more skilled and better positions. Our special Negro bureau spent most of its time in helping the educated Negro who was capable of something beyond common labor to get it."

Tendency to Use Direct Methods

Even when examiners and others in the public bureaus are disposed to give careful attention to the needs of Negro workers, the problem of getting the latter to take advantage of the service offered to some extent remains. They have not become accustomed to this method of securing work and are slow to use it. As has been pointed out in Part One, they depend in large degree upon direct and unorganized methods for securing information on jobs and for making their employment contacts. That is to say, they depend very largely upon information which comes by word-of-mouth or through messages from friends among their own people. In the intensive group life of Negroes in most cities news of particular interest to them personally, including opportunities for employment, spreads rapidly. And even when they move away from these group centers because of better opportunities for work, information in regard to them comes largely through these unorganized chan-

nels. · Two experienced social settlement workers estimated that something like 90 per cent of the Negroes who had migrated to their city during the war came at the instance of friends or relatives.

Here, again, educational and publicity work on the part of the employment officials is required. The facilities and services of the bureaus need to be made fully known to these workers. Progress in some localities may be slow, but it will nevertheless be made, particularly as the bureaus demonstrate their effectiveness in placing these workers.

When Special Offices Should be Established

Then as Negro workers come to the bureaus in increasing numbers the question of office organization to serve them efficiently will need to be faced. Shall they be taken care of in general employment offices which at the same time serve all other kinds of labor, or should there be special bureaus established serving colored workers only? A number of cities have had experience in dealing with this question, and the final answer seems clearly to come down to a matter of numbers of workers to be served. The most satisfactory basis of decision, as is the case with any other group of workers, is the volume of business to be handled.

Thus, if the number of Negro workers coming to the general bureaus is not large they may very well be taken care of by these bureaus. This has been the practice in those parts of the country where the colored applicants were relatively few and where they created no special problem. There seemed to be no sufficient reason under these circumstances for separating colored carpenters, for example, from white carpenters.

On the other hand, when Negro workers come in large numbers, that is, when the volume of the business warrants it, special offices may be established. Kansas City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, and other centers during the World War and for a period following it, had such separate offices, established precisely under the conditions described. And the logical and natural thing to do is to put such special bureaus where they will be most convenient to the Negroes using them—which usually means locating them near or in the neighborhoods where the largest numbers live.

Thus far, experience has not shown the need of any other special

treatment of this group of workers—except that employment office examiners and recruiters in the special offices, as far as persons with the requisite training are available, should be chosen from the Negro population. There is ample experience to show that this work in most cases can be better done for Negroes by individuals chosen from their own people than by white people. Negro workers should also be represented on the advisory councils in neighborhoods or communities where there are considerable numbers of colored workers. The same would apply to Negro employers where their numbers warrant such representation.

CHAPTER XXXV

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

GOVERNMENT employment offices have nowhere given adequate service to professional workers. The federal system during the war had a professional division that was too hastily organized and too short-lived to contribute much toward a sufficient handling of the problem. Some state systems and individual offices maintained "clerical and professional" sections, but they were not equipped to take care of professional workers.

Moreover, it is doubtful whether a government system would be justified in spending the money that would be required adequately to organize this field of employment before other groups, notably the unskilled and juniors, are cared for. This statement is based on considerations of social welfare and is made from the point of view of what is practicable in the near future; not at all on the economic need for organization.

In fact, the technician's importance to industry is such that an adequate employment service in his field might eliminate as much waste, caused by unnecessary unemployment of certain kinds, as organization of employment service in the unskilled field could. It may cost as much delay and inefficiency for a company to be without a head chemist or a cost accounting engineer as to have a shortage or high turnover of unskilled labor. It may cost the community as much to have a well-equipped chemist idle for a month as it does to have a hundred laborers idle. But as already said, the question in its immediate aspects is more one of social welfare than one of strict economics.

When the casual laborer is out of work, in the vast majority of cases he is financially reduced to the existence level. His idleness results in human suffering that is almost immediate. The engineer, on the other hand, usually has some reserve of money and when out of work can care for himself. It is only natural to expect, therefore, that practical leaders in government work will consider the casual

laborer first and build up in the scale from there. The whole history of public employment work has shown this tendency to look after those in greatest need first.

Inasmuch, therefore, as our governmental experience in the professional field has been very limited, and since the setting up of a public employment service in this field seems fairly remote, attention to methods in this connection has not been regarded as a responsibility of the present study, but is left for that time when the organization of such divisions becomes a more immediate, practical matter to be faced by the public bureaus. Space can be taken for a few comments only which may have value in the meantime, and possibly suggest phases of this work which should be given careful study as experience is being built up.

The Difficulty of Definition

First is the matter of definition. What is a professional worker? He is not easily defined.

The terms "profession" or "professional worker" are used with a broad interpretation in employment work. Originally they were limited in their application rather strictly to medicine, law, the Army and the Church; they were *the* Professions. Possibly a scientist, a teacher, or an author or a writer might have been accorded a place in this group, but the definition could hardly be stretched further.

Generally speaking, a profession is today a vocation whose regulations, codes of ethics, standards of training, and so on, are controlled by the members of that profession, either with or without governmental assistance. Thus accounting, and possibly engineering, have become professions also. Other fields, like social work, have a professional spirit and are fast developing a professional organization.

But in employment office parlance "professional" has been loosely used to designate those occupations which required considerable academic training, which often but not always commanded the higher salaries, and which demanded a certain social and cultural standing of the members. It is impossible to really apply such a definition, but it roughly indicates the general group covered.

For instance a jockey, admissible under the definition of a certain professional employment office during the war, we should not call "professional" for employment office purposes. A private secretary would become eligible to the professional division if she can carry real responsibility; as against the stenographer who cannot! The line necessarily cannot be clearly marked between the clerical and the professional sections.

In spite of this difficulty of definition, an office must put out a clean-cut statement of its field. There are two possible ways of doing it. One would be to define the kinds of positions that are considered "professional"; the other is to define the kinds and amount of training required to make applicants eligible to register. Between the two, for present uses, we incline strongly to the latter. The Professional Section of the United States Employment Service in New York used as definite and workable a definition as we saw anywhere. It was based upon and practically identical with a definition previously worked out by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations. The following excerpts from it indicate its character:

Qualifications for registration in the professional section:

1. Qualified college graduates
   Those who are graduates of colleges on the Babcock list issued by the United States Bureau of Education together with those approved by the Carnegie Foundation.
2. Non-graduates of these accredited colleges who have taken at least two years of college work and who have had additional experience or training that would qualify them for the kind of positions which are handled by the Professional Section.
3. For secretarial work:
   1. Groups 1 and 2 above.
   2. Those who are experienced stenographers *and* typists
      (1) who are able to take dictation in French, German, Spanish or Italian, or
      (2) who can translate those languages, if they have remained in school (exclusive of business school) up to their eighteenth year.
   3. Those who are not graduates of college but who are trained stenographers and typists with at least three years' experience in the line of work for which they apply, provided their work has

been of a secretarial nature rather than of a purely stenographic nature.

4. For business positions of an executive or technical nature, such as bookkeeping, accounting, expert filing, office management, and the like.
   1. Groups 1 and 2 above.
   2. Those who have had three years of exceptional experience in the lines for which they make application and who are able to demonstrate their ability to hold such positions.

3–9. These sections are omitted.[1]

10. All others, as advertising assistants, editorial writers and journalists, scientists, administrative officers for schools and colleges (as deans, registrars, and so forth) must qualify under 1 or 2.

Note A. It should be understood that experience no less than academic study is held by the Professional Section to be an adequate basis for registration.

Note B. All applicants for employment who do not qualify for registration in the Professional Section will be referred to the appropriate office of the United States Employment Service.

Note C. Candidates should not be referred to the Professional Division unless definitely qualified for professional work. Merely the desire to engage in professional work does not constitute sufficient reason for registration. The attention of branch offices is called to this announcement.

This method of definition makes clear to employers the kind of applicants registered. It gives the office a definite task of placing persons with certain types of training.

If, on the other hand, we begin to define types of positions as eligible to the professional division we are likely to get into a quagmire. The term "private secretary" to different employers, for example, may mean anything from a file clerk to an extremely important executive assistant.

It is impossible at present to standardize the terms used to describe positions in this field. Because it is much more practicable to standardize the terms describing qualifications of applicants we would prefer to make the latter the working basis for defining the professional, clerical, and other fields of employment service.

[1] They cover positions in social work, nursing, libraries, and household and institutional administration, and in the classical professions.

Need for Highly Specialized Service

Once the field is defined it is essential that those belonging in it should be given a service separate and especially adapted to their requirements. The reasons are numerous, among them being the fact that the interview in the employment office calls for greater leisure, skill, and understanding of professional workers than is to be expected of the examiner of most other workers. It calls, moreover, for a greater knowledge of professional work than can be expected of those not specializing in this field. Unless examiners have such knowledge they cannot command the confidence of applicants, and to fail in that is usually fatal. The nature of the positions to be filled are such as to call for a full and frank statement from applicants regarding their training, experience, special interests, special abilities, preferences, and even their weaknesses if there be such. These interviewers need to have a cultural and intellectual background which will enable them to draw out this information tactfully while at the same time making as accurate a judgment as possible as to each individual's temperament and personality.

The salaries received by professional workers are on the average higher than any of the other groups an employment office would handle. This in itself differentiates in a subtle way this branch from others; though the salary is a result rather than a cause of the social status.

The lines of training are many and the different types of positions overlap. Since "profession" is a wide term as we use it, many interweaving qualifications are involved. A chemist may work in an industrial plant or be a teacher of physics in a high school, or go from one to the other. A statistician may suddenly become an executive director of a social agency. To be able to see how experience and training of one kind is of fundamental value in another line of work calls for special equipment in the examiners—equipment of a kind that can be had only by close application to this particular task.

Again, the qualifications required in some positions place as much emphasis on "personality" as on training or experience. If this be

so in regard to clerical workers or those in positions of minor trust, it is often supremely so in the professional field.

Needless to say that since interviewers in a professional bureau would require social accomplishments, intelligence, and experience of a high order, capable interviewers will not only be hard to find but will command sizable salaries.

Moreover, the technique of a service for professionals must be most highly specialized if it is to be successful. Take the forms to be used. They will be larger than for the general office, described at length elsewhere. Probably cards 8 by 5 inches as a minimum would be used, though folders 8½ by 11 inches printed as forms and capable of being filed as a container for correspondence are more likely to be needed.

Because the whole process is more detailed the forms will be more complete and complicated. Experience will show which fields or occupations require special forms. It is certain, for example, that social workers, engineers, and teachers would not use the same.

Clearance and Reference Information

The problem of clearance will be a big one. The responsibility of securing and then transferring information that is adequate to justify traveling expenses for a personal interview between applicant and employer is heavy. The specific difficulties of clearing have been taken up in another chapter.[1] It only remains to say that the field of professional work requires the greatest precision in the sending out of data regarding qualifications and requirements. Success in it will be success at the point of greatest difficulty. There is one factor that eases the situation, however, the time element is not as urgent, on the whole, as it is in other fields.

Another feature distinguishes the serving of professional workers. References, or more properly the opinion of former employers and acquaintances in regard to a person's qualifications, become of more importance. In the first place, employers who come to a bureau for a technician want a pretty nice selection, and the bureau itself needs data with regard to a chemist's performance beyond those which can be gained from an interview. Forms must be designed with considerable skill to elicit answers that are

[1] See page 414 of Chapter XXIII, Long Distance Clearance and Transferral.

worth while. The question arises again as to the ethics of disclosing the source of reference information, and will need to be given careful study.

In the chapter on registration and the taking of orders we outlined a general procedure.[1] This did not provide for the individual attention nor for the time that a "professional section" of necessity will require. For the skilled artisan and clerical workers, however, we dwelt on the need of individual service. Even there, however, it must be expedited to a degree that would be harmful to the best results if applied in the professional bureau.

Professional placement is expensive in time, equipment, and personnel. This is so because of the delicacy of the task and the social status of the applicant. The service is economically worth the cost, but that cost will look high to those not fully alive to its real value to industry and to our organized community life.

Agencies in the Professional Field

At present and for some time to come government, we believe, will be negligible among placement organizations in this field. The most extensive work done at present is by fee-charging agencies, especially among teachers, social workers, and the various branches of engineering. On the whole they are doing very creditable work and filling a need that non-fee-charging agencies are not yet equipped to meet.

Three classes of these non-commercial bureaus are working to good effect within the scope of their equipment. One is the group of "Intercollegiate Bureaus" each bearing slightly varying local names which were started some years ago by the women's colleges and are supported partly by contributions from these latter and partly by the general public. They have branches in Boston, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, Pasadena, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and San Diego. Through regular joint conferences and a National Committee, they have functioned as a loose federation. On the whole they represented in their beginnings the practical contribution of the collegiate group to the feminist movement. With many big gains in support of that movement behind them, and with the acceptance of women's work in field after

[1] See pages 281 and 327.

field on an equal footing with that of men, they are now focusing on the technical phases of placement work in order to improve that work on its own account. Long ago their leaders saw the wisdom of building an employment system for professional men and women under a single administration.

Closely allied in spirit to this first class of non-commercial bureaus, is the second; those operated by colleges and alumni or alumnæ associations for graduates. As a generalization we may safely say that 90 per cent of the placements by these organizations are in the field of teaching, mostly on behalf of women teachers. The work is usually carried on at the college itself by some officer assigned to it on part time. Sometimes it is the dean. Becoming more and more common, however, is the vocational adviser, functioning under one title or another, in whose charge this work is placed. Practically the bulk of the placement work of these advisers is limited to the graduating class or to those who have been out of college less than three years. They are thus a link between college and industry, but they do not go far to solve the economic problem involved in the efficient placement of professionals as a whole.

The third class of non-commercial agencies are those maintained by professional organizations, such as that of the engineering societies, the social workers, the chemists, and others. The service is usually without fee and without obligation to join the organization.

If we disregard the possibility of government service for a moment, and the private fee-charging agencies, the bureau maintained by a professional organization appears to have much to commend it, at least for the time being. Its weakness lies in the multiplication of such employment centers, the fact that only organized "professions" could operate bureaus, and because what should be an impartial economic service might be influenced by professional jealousies between rival organizations. The most obvious and vital of these objections is the second—that much of the field which we have called "professional" will not be organized at all if professional societies only are to operate bureaus.

A much sounder basis, in economic terms (again disregarding the

possibility of government service), is that being striven for by the intercollegiate bureaus: an employment service for college or equivalently trained people operated under a single administration in each region and contributed to by colleges, professional societies, the general public, and possibly employers as such. If a service for professional workers were to be created at once, this would be the logical and intelligent place to start.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

GROWTH OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES

IN THE following table figures have been brought together from a variety of sources to show the increase in the number of public employment offices in the United States, and in the number of cities and states in which such offices have been located. The figures do not include non-commercial offices operated by private organizations, or public offices for special classes such as juniors, immigrants, teachers, et cetera. In the last column an attempt is made to show the amounts appropriated for the operation of these offices. While these amounts are not complete and do not correspond exactly with the years specified, they will give some indication of what has been expended for the maintenance of public employment offices in the United States.

Up to and including the first of the two figures for 1917, the table records only municipal and state offices. The United States Employment Service, which grew out of the immigrant placement service of the federal Bureau of Immigration, developed rapidly as a general employment service during 1917, and its offices actually in operation or in course of organization at the end of the year are included in the second figures given for that year.

From 1917 on, the offices recorded are federal offices or offices co-operating with the federal Employment Service. The Employment Service was established as a bureau in the United States Department of Labor in January, 1918. The number of its offices steadily increased during 1918 and, with few if any exceptions, the existing state and municipal offices were co-ordinated with the federal system.

The number of offices in 1918 was obtained from a list of offices appended to the annual report of the Director General of the Employment Service for 1918 and relates to the period just preceding the armistice. Some further expansion of the Service was made during the early months of demobilization. The height of the development was apparently reached in March, 1919, when, according to the current reports of the Service, there were about 850 offices. Following the failure of Congress at this time to grant an appropriation to maintain the extended service, drastic reduction of the number of offices was begun. Many of the offices discontinued by the federal Service were taken over by states or municipalities but continued in co-operation with the Employment Service. Since October, 1919, no general employment offices have been maintained solely by the Employment Service although the Service has contributed to the support of certain offices.

The distribution of offices preceding the development of the Employ-

ment Service in 1917, in the fall of 1918, and in 1923 is shown in the series of maps on page 158.

TABLE 6.—PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890–1923

Year	Offices in operation	Cities in which offices were located	States in which offices were located	Appropriations for conduct of offices (for fiscal year)
1890	5	5	1	[a]
1895	8	8	4	[a]
1900	15	13	7	[a]
1905	37	35	15	[a]
1910	55	53	21	$119,103 for 33 offices
1913	67	63	22	207,433 for 63 offices
1917 (early)	96	88	26	382,050 for 90 offices
1917 (late)	181	152	42 [b]	1,075,000 [c]
1918 (Oct.)	773	605	49 [b]	5,772,000 [d]
1920 (early)	269	[a]	42 [b]	1,547,000 [e]
1921 (Oct.)	174	160	35 [b]	[a]
1923 (Apr.)	197	175	39 [b]	[a]

[a] Information not found. [b] Including the District of Columbia.

[c] Includes $250,000 appropriated in October, 1917, to the Secretary of Labor for employment purposes, and $825,000 allotted in December, 1917, to the United States Employment Service from the President's fund for national security and defense.

[d] Includes $5,500,000 appropriated for the Employment Service for the fiscal year 1919 and a deficiency appropriation of $272,000. In addition funds were secured by the Service from other sources to continue operation of offices during this fiscal year.

[e] Includes $400,000 appropriated by the federal government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and $1,147,000 appropriated for the corresponding year by states and municipalities.

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